Martin Luther:
Gospel, Law, and Reformation

Course Guidebook

Professor Phillip Cary
Eastern University

2004

THE GREAT COURSES
Corporate Headquarters
4840 Westfields Boulevard, Suite 500
Chantilly, Virginia 20151-2299

Phillip Cary, Ph.D.

Director of the Philosophy Program, Eastern University

Phillip Cary is Associate Professor of Philosophy at Eastern University in St. Davids, Pennsylvania, where he is also Scholar in Residence at the Templeton Honors College. He received his undergraduate training in English Literature and Philosophy at Washington University (MO), then earned an M.A. in Philosophy and a Ph.D. in both Philosophy and Religious Studies at Yale University. Professor Cary has taught at Yale, the University of Hartford, the University of Connecticut, and Villanova University. He was an Ennis Post-Doctoral Fellow at Villanova University, where he taught in Villanova's nationally acclaimed Core Humanities program. At Eastern University, he is a recent winner of the Lindback Award for excellence in undergraduate teaching. Professor Cary has published scholarly articles on Augustine, Luther, the doctrine of the Trinity, and interpersonal knowledge. His book, *Augustine's Invention of the Inner Self*, was published by Oxford University Press in 2000. Professor Cary produced the popular Teaching Company courses *Augustine: Philosopher and Saint* and *Philosophy and Religion in the West*, as well as contributing to the third edition of the course entitled *Great Minds of the Western Intellectual Tradition*.

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Table of Contents

Luther: Gospel, Law, and Reformation

Professor Biography i
Course Scope 1
Lecture One Luther's Gospel 3
Lecture Two The Medieval Church—Abuses and Reform 7
Lecture Three The Augustinian Paradigm of Spirituality 13
Lecture Four Young Luther Against Himself 17
Lecture Five Hearing the Gospel 21
Lecture Six Faith and Works 25
Lecture Seven The Meaning of the Sacraments 29
Lecture Eight The Indulgence Controversy 33
Lecture Nine The Reformation Goes Public 36
Lecture Ten The Captivity of the Sacraments 40
Lecture Eleven Reformation in Wittenberg 45
Lecture Twelve The Work of the Reformer 48
Lecture Thirteen Against the Spirit of Rebellion 51
Lecture Fourteen Controversy Over the Lord's Supper 55
Lecture Fifteen Controversy Over Infant Baptism 60
Lecture Sixteen Grace and Justification 65
Lecture Seventeen Luther and the Bible 70
Lecture Eighteen Luther and Erasmus 75
Lecture Nineteen Luther and Predestination 80
Lecture Twenty Luther and Protestantism 84
Lecture Twenty-One Luther and Politics 90
Lecture Twenty-Two Luther and His Enemies 96
Lecture Twenty-Three Luther and the Jews 102
Lecture Twenty-Four Luther and Modernity 106
Timeline 110

Table of Contents

Luther: Gospel, Law, and Reformation

Glossary 116
Biographical Notes 133
Bibliography 138

Material from *Luther's Works* (Vols. 31-55) is reproduced with permission from Augsburg Fortress, Publishers (Minneapolis, MN)

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Luther: Gospel, Law, and Reformation

Scope:

Martin Luther (1483–1546) is the founding figure of the Protestant Reformation, the decisive break from the medieval Catholic church, which in many ways, marks the beginning of modern Europe. An eloquent preacher and voluminous writer, Luther attacked many abuses of the medieval church, especially the papacy. However, the source of his religious vision was not political or institutional but a deep inner struggle of conscience. Like many people of his time, Luther was terrified that God would ultimately reject him for his sins. He found in the Bible a word of God that he called "Law," which increased this terror, but he also found another word that he called "Gospel," the good news and promise of mercy in Christ, which banished all his fears. His famous doctrine of justification by faith alone meant that simply believing the Gospel was enough to make one stand justified before God. This doctrine was meant to free people from anxious attempts to justify themselves by doing the works of the Law or seeking grace from the hierarchical machinery of the church. The Reformation resulted from Luther's efforts to make sure everybody had an opportunity to hear this good news.

Lectures One through Seven trace Luther's discovery of the Gospel and set it in medieval context. The medieval church at its worst was an institution that funded itself by playing on people's fears of purgatory and hell, while at its best, it taught an Augustinian spirituality of grace, in which life is a journey toward God motivated by love. Young Luther became a monk in order to seek grace for this journey by means of penance, confession of sins, self-accusation, and even self-hatred. The discovery of the Gospel meant that such efforts were worthless, because grace becomes ours only when God gives us his own son, whom we receive simply by believing the good news. From this gift follow all our good works, which are works of love for our neighbors, not attempts to earn grace or justify ourselves. Strikingly, Luther finds this gracious word of the Gospel by turning to the heart of Catholic sacramental theology in baptism, penance, and the Eucharist.

Lectures Eight through Sixteen trace the course of the Reformation. While still a monk, Luther initiates a controversy over indulgences, attacking some flagrant efforts of the church to sell grace. What began as an academic disputation in 1517 becomes, by 1520, a rallying cry for Germans

to throw off the yoke of the papacy, affecting everyone in Europe because of the recent invention of the printing press. Luther attacks the papacy's attempt to take the sacraments captive for purposes of money-making and power, preventing them from being the vehicle of the Gospel that God intended. At the head of a growing movement for reform, he takes practical steps to form a new kind of church, one in which people can hear, read, and even sing the Gospel in their own language, thanks to Luther's translation of the Bible, his sermons and catechisms, and his hymn-writing (including the famous "A Mighty Fortress is Our God"). Soon, however, he must deal with Protestant critics who want the Reformation to move faster or even become revolutionary. Some of them support the peasant rebellion, which Luther deplores; others reject infant baptism, which Luther defends; and many think his insistence on finding Christ's body literally present in the bread of the Eucharist is a leftover from Catholicism.

Lectures Seventeen through Twenty-Four examine Luther's views on several important topics ("Luther and. …"). Most fundamental is Luther's turn to the Bible as the source of the transforming certainty of God's promises. In contrast to the humanist Erasmus, who found in the Bible a resource for moral self-development, Luther insists that God's Word changes us without our good works and despite the bondage of our will. He does not hesitate to affirm a robust doctrine of predestination, though he tends to warn individuals not to pry into the question of whether or not God has predestined them to be saved—in contrast to John Calvin, who initiates the Protestant insistence that Christians should know they are eternally saved. In his politics, Luther is authoritarian, supporting the duty of secular rulers to suppress rebellion and even reform the church. In his polemical writings, Luther is often fierce and abusive, attacking his opponents as if they were spokesmen for the devil—a tendency that reaches depths of vileness in his writings against the Jews. By any measure, the legacy of Luther is mixed: There is much here for even Catholics to learn from and even Protestants to be ashamed of.

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture One
Luther's Gospel

Scope: How are we to come to grips with so controversial a figure as Martin Luther? We can focus on the central concept of *Gospel*, noting that the essential content of Luther's Gospel is something all orthodox Christians believe: the story of Christ dying for us sinners. What's new and controversial is Luther's doctrine *about* the Gospel—about exactly how we are changed by hearing this story. This is Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone. To see how this common story is related to the controversial doctrine, I tell a kind of parable to illustrate the experience of faith in the Gospel as Luther understands it. In future lectures, we will get further into Luther's experience, his doctrine about the Gospel, and how it sparked a Reformation that changed the course of history.

Outline

I. Luther is a man of controversy.

A. Not only was Luther involved in a great many controversies in his lifetime, but he has been the object of controversy ever since—especially, of course, between Protestants and Catholics.

B. Yet the current ecumenical situation, where Catholics and Protestants talk about restoring the unity of the church, has changed the tenor of these controversies.

1. Ecumenically-minded Protestants often regret the splitting of the church in the 16th century.

2. Ecumenically-minded Catholics often wish their church had the flexibility to change and reform itself as the Protestants have done.

II. At the heart of Luther's thought and life is his doctrine about what he calls the Gospel.

A. Problem: Luther insists that the content of his Gospel is simply the creed that every good Christian believes; yet Luther's doctrine about the Gospel stirs up controversy as if it were something unheard of. How can this be?

B. Luther's concept of Gospel can be summarized as follows:

1. Definition: The Gospel is the good news about Christ, a story containing his promises. The four Gospels in the New Testament are different ways of telling this one story.

2. Content: What the Gospel says is what is summarized in the creed. You can find the content of the Gospel not only in the New Testament Gospels but everywhere in the Bible, including the Old Testament, which prophesies and promises Christ's coming.

3. Doctrines *in* the Gospel: The Gospel contains doctrines (that is, teachings), such as "Christ died for our sins." This is not the controversial part of Luther's theology.

4. Doctrines *about* the Gospel: Luther has a great deal to say about how the Gospel of Christ saves us, such as his teaching that we are justified by faith alone; these doctrines are *about* the Gospel but are not the Gospel itself (that is, not part of the Gospel's content). This is where Luther's theology becomes controversial.

5. Gospel as promise: According to Luther's doctrine about the Gospel, it is not only a story, but also a promise contained in the story, by which God gives Christ to those who believe.

6. *Pro me*: Faith in the Gospel means not just believing that the story is true (*fides historica*, "faith in the story") but also believing that what Christ did, he did for me. This *pro me* ("for me") aspect of the Gospel does not mean the story is all about me, but that I am included in Christ's story—because he died *for me*.

C. What Luther is afraid of is not punishment and hellfire but God himself and his judgment. Thus, the experience of believing the Gospel can be compared with the following parable:

1. Imagine that you push your little brother down the stairs, he breaks his neck, and you must face your father. What is it you are afraid of—a spanking?

2. Luther, likewise, in facing the judgment of God is not afraid of fire and brimstone but of God—of hearing something like: "Get out. You are not my son."

3. The Gospel is like coming to face your father in the presence of your brother, who loves you and insists on your father forgiving you.

4. Imagine the first thing you hear is your brother saying, "My sister!" and your father saying, "My daughter!"
5. Then imagine also that it turns out your brother will be all right (like Christ risen from the dead).

III. The approach taken in this course to the controversial figure of Martin Luther will not be neutral, but both sympathetic and critical.

A. There are historical figures who call not for neutrality but condemnation (for example, Hitler), or admiration (for example, Gandhi), or sometimes a fair amount of both (Luther).

B. Yet we cannot understand these figures well enough to judge them without entering with imaginative sympathy into their minds and their worlds, which may require us to think critically about some of our own assumptions.

C. Protestants, Catholics, and anyone interested in the history of the modern world all have much to gain from a sympathetic and critical understanding of Luther.

IV. This course is structured as follows:

A. Section 1 ("Discovering the Gospel") focuses on what the Gospel meant in Luther's personal experience and his doctrine about it.

B. Section 2 ("The Course of the Lutheran Reformation") examines the Reformation that resulted when Luther's doctrine about the Gospel went public.

C. Section 3 ("Luther and. …") tackles Luther's stand on key issues

D. In the next lecture, we begin to get at Luther's personal experience by examining his historical and social context, the church of the Middle Ages.

Essential Reading:

Luther, "A Brief Instruction on What to Look for and Expect in the Gospels," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, and Lull, chapter 8.

Luther, "Preface to the New Testament," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, and Lull, chapter 7.

Supplemental Reading:

Braaten and Jenson, *The Catholicity of the Reformation* (for Lutheran perspectives on ecumenical dialogue).

Lecture Two

The Medieval Church—Abuses and Reform

Scope: This is the first of two lectures examining the context of Luther's experience of the Gospel. Here, we begin with the external context, the history of the medieval church, which was the most powerful institution in the Western world for many centuries. We briefly examine the history of the papacy, as well as the varieties of Catholic clergy. We look in particular at clerical abuses that were prevalent in Luther's time, most of which have to do with money. The late medieval church funded itself and maintained its cultural position in large part by virtue of its claim to authority over individuals' consciences, playing on their anxiety about their status in the next life. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone freed people from this kind of authority and its anxieties, which explains much of the popularity of the Reformation among the laity.

Outline

I. In the medieval church—and, therefore, in medieval society—the clergy was a distinct class of people, its members different from the laity in both their spiritual and social status.

A. Priests had special spiritual powers, as well as distinctive social functions.

1. Priests had the spiritual power of saying Mass, in which bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Christ.

2. The Mass was of spiritual benefit both to those who heard it and to those for whom it was said.

3. For pay, Masses could be said for souls in purgatory, easing punishments there. Purgatory is the place for Christian souls who will get to heaven but are temporarily suffering punishment until their souls are purified (purged of sin, hence, *purgatory*).

4. Masses were often funded for this purpose, so that a major portion of the medieval economy centered on paying for Masses for the dead, a spiritual service that could be provided only by a priest.

5. Side altars in churches were devoted to private Masses, often attended by no one but the priest who was being paid to say them.

B. Monks and friars (not all of whom were priests) took special vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity.

1. In contrast to parish priests, who were called *secular clergy* because they lived in the world (not separated from other people), monks and friars were *regular clergy*, living under a special rule (Latin *regula*) that separated them from the world.
2. Different orders of monks and friars lived under different rules (for example, Benedictine monks, Franciscan friars, and Augustinians, who could be called both monks and friars). Young Martin Luther was an Augustinian monk or friar (he was called both), as well as a priest.
3. The monks' and friars' vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity separated them from ordinary economic, political, and domestic life, respectively. They did not own land or feudal property; they owed allegiance to their spiritual superior before any secular ruler; and they were not married.
4. Though individual monks were not property owners, monasteries were often very wealthy and powerful institutions.

II. Medieval clergy often had temporal, as well as spiritual power.

A. The spiritual power of the clergy, which was ordained to help people toward eternal life, was contrasted with the temporal (that is, political) power of the laity, which was concerned with governing things in this transitory mortal life.

B. Bishops (including the pope, the bishop of Rome) often had great temporal power.

1. The feudal church was funded by a system of benefices, which were, in effect, ecclesiastical fiefs, giving clergy a right to tithes (church taxes) and often meaning that the clergy controlled a great deal of land and wealth in return for spiritual services.
2. This meant that bishops, whose benefices could be quite large, were often feudal lords involved in power politics with other feudal lords. Therefore, in the medieval church, political and economic power was tied up with spiritual power.

3. Because benefices were not private or family property (bishops were not supposed to have children to pass them on to), they were one of the most important sources of wealth and power. They were often fought over after the bishop died and the benefice became vacant.
4. Secular rulers typically wanted to control the benefice in order to collect its revenues; they did not want to have that wealth shipped off to a foreign prince (the pope).
5. Popes also competed for the wealth of benefices by insisting on the right of providing their own candidates for bishoprics and by imposing a hefty tax on the first year of income (called *annates*) when someone acquired a benefice.

C. The pope, both theoretically and practically, had temporal and spiritual power.
1. The pope's benefice was most of central Italy. He was a ruler of the Papal States, he derived income from them, and he was involved in wars in Italy.
2. The pope was the chief bishop of Rome, the successor of St. Peter, and the chief of the apostles of Christ.
3. Medieval popes made forceful claims for their role as the Vicar of Christ, that is, Christ's representative on earth, ruling over the body of Christ with the authority of its head.
4. Throughout the Middle Ages, the popes claimed that spiritual power was superior to temporal power, and that the latter should be exercised at the behest of the former (for example, in Pope Boniface VIII's bull, *Unam Sanctam,* in 1302).
5. Temporal rulers who rebelled against the spiritual power could be excommunicated, their lands put under interdict, and their subjects absolved from obedience. An example was King John of England, who caved in and made England a fief of the pope.
6. Yet papal claims, which were often extravagant, should not make us accept the stereotype of a monolithic and all-powerful church. The papacy was constantly involved in feudal power politics and did not always win. An illustration of this is the lay investiture controversy between Pope Gregory VII and the emperor Henry IV.
7. The emperor was the Holy Roman Emperor, but in fact, he was the feudal overlord of Germany, to whom the various

princes of Germany owed allegiance. This was the situation in Germany in Luther's time. In his view of medieval history, Luther was always on the side of the (German) emperor versus the (Italian) pope.

D. Precisely because the papacy was powerful, it often became a bone of contention in power politics.

1. For much of the 14th century, the papacy was located in Avignon, not Rome, conveniently under the control of the king of France (the *Babylonian Captivity* of the papacy), keeping the pope out of reach of other monarchs, such as the emperor of Germany.

2. In the last quarter of the century, the situation became even worse. Rival popes lived in both Avignon and Rome, each excommunicating the other's followers (the *Great Schism*).

3. These 14th-century events not only undermined people's confidence in the papacy but also made them anxious about their salvation (suppose I follow the wrong pope?) and prompted them to wonder whether their salvation really was dependent on such an institution.

4. At the beginning of the 15th century, the Council of Constance put an end to the Great Schism by deposing several rival popes.

E. The Renaissance papacy developed in the 15th century, rich in wealth, artistic splendor, and abuses.

1. The pope was the temporal ruler of most of central Italy and was frequently involved in Italian power politics, family intrigue, and warfare.

2. The Renaissance popes built Rome back up after it had fallen into decay during the Babylonian Captivity of the 14th century, including the new St. Peter's church and the paintings of Raphael and Michelangelo (such as the frescoes on the Sistine chapel) commissioned by Julius II.

3. All this took money, which was raised from the pope's lands in Italy, from annates and other taxes, and from some new means of fundraising, such as the aggressive selling of offices in the papal bureaucracy, as well as indulgences.

4. During Julius II's reign, an unknown young monk named Martin Luther visited Rome in 1510, found it disgustingly

worldly and cynical, and wondered about its spiritual claims as a pilgrimage site.

5. A crisis was brewing: The Renaissance papacy depended on late-medieval piety for its funding (much of it from Germany), and late-medieval piety did not approve of the Renaissance papacy.

III. Lay piety in the late Middle Ages centered on getting supernatural help for the dead.

A. The overriding concern for late-medieval piety was about one's state in the life after death.

1. People were concerned that they be in a state of grace when they died, not in a state of mortal sin.
2. The living could help the dead by reducing their time in purgatory through prayers, Masses, pilgrimages, and indulgences.
3. Masses for the dead were a major part of the medieval economy.
4. Indulgences were an official declaration that you (or someone to whom you assigned the indulgence) would have your stay in purgatory reduced by a specific amount of time.

B. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone dropped into this culture like a bombshell.

1. It offered certainty (the promise of God!) for consciences anxious about their place in the afterlife.
2. It freed the consciences of the laity from the domination of the clergy, which was often motivated more by financial than pastoral considerations.
3. The doctrine undermined some of the most important money-making schemes available to fund the papacy, such as the sale of indulgences.
4. It spoke to anxious consciences: people worried about how to escape gruesome torture in the next life and uncertain about what would really work.
5. It addressed the faithful German laity, who had been paying for Masses, indulgences, and pilgrimages as ways of relieving spiritual anxiety, only to see their money sent to Italy, where it was used to fight wars and build huge churches.

6. Finally, the doctrine paved the way for pious German believers, beginning with Martin Luther, to say "Enough!" and to begin the Reformation.

Essential Reading:

Duffy, *Saints and Sinners*, chapters 2–3.

Supplemental Reading:

Bettenson and Maunder, *Documents of the Christian Church* (includes many of the documents used in this lecture).

Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars*, chapters 9–10 (for medieval lay piety of dying).

Greenblatt, *Hamlet in Purgatory*, chapters 1–2 (for a history of purgatory).

Kelly, *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes* (wonderful for browsing in this era).

King, *Michelangelo and the Pope's Ceiling* (for a vivid portrayal of the Renaissance papacy).

Questions to Consider:

1. How is the church Luther confronted different from the church today?
2. How is your experience of the clergy different from that of medieval people?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Three

The Augustinian Paradigm of Spirituality

Scope: This lecture deals with the inner context for understanding Luther's experience of the Gospel. The kind of inner or spiritual experience the medieval church aimed to promote was broadly Augustinian, an earthly pilgrimage leading to eternal happiness via faith, prayer, love, and contemplation, all made possible by divine grace. Protestant theologians pick up on these Augustinian themes but ask a question that, in effect, disrupts the pilgrimage: How do I stand before God's judgment? This question becomes particularly urgent because of the way Augustinian spirituality went awry in the late-medieval theology in which Luther was brought up.

Outline

I. The Augustinian paradigm is a spiritual quest for eternal happiness with God.

A. This paradigm is developed by the great 4th-century church father Augustine, who was influential for all of Western Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant.

B. In the Augustinian paradigm, happiness (beatitude or bliss) means seeing God with your mind.

C. Morality consists of the virtues needed to travel on the road to beatitude, our eternal home with God.

1. Faith is the beginning of the road: You begin by believing what you're told by the appropriate authority (for example, the Bible), so that you might eventually see it for yourself.

2. Love, a desire for union with God, is the crucial "engine" that drives us along this road.

3. The only reward for loving God is that you get what you love.

4. Salvation is not until we reach the end of the road, when we understand and enjoy God; that's what "heaven" really is.

D. Augustine believed we can travel this road successfully only by the divine inward help of God's grace.

1. According to this doctrine, our love for God is a gift from God, because it is God who causes us to fall in love with God,

giving us the delight and longing that pulls us along on the journey.

2. Our unaided free will is not sufficient to create this love; therefore, without this gift of grace, we would perish in our sins.
3. Augustine argued that if you tried to love God without grace, you would resent him rather than obey him from a loving and willing heart.
4. The key task of faith is to pray for grace; thus, you receive the grace to love God.
5. Love for God is obedience to the greatest commandment of God, that is, to love God with your whole heart, mind, and strength.
6. Thus, Augustine traces an "order of salvation" from faith to love to happiness.
7. Even our initial faith or conversion is a gift of God, not simply our choice (for without God's grace, we would not choose to have faith).
8. As we grow in love for God and neighbor through the cooperation of grace and our own free will, we do actually become better and more worthy people—Augustine's doctrine of grace includes the concept of human merit.
9. Nonetheless, all our merits originate from God's grace, without which we would not love and obey God.

II. The key Protestant departure from this Augustinian paradigm was in the matter of merit, as can be seen by contrasting important passages in medieval and Reformation theology.

A. In the 12th century, Anselm prays a very Augustinian prayer about the misery of being far from God, as faith seeks but has not yet found understanding, salvation, and eternal blessedness.

B. In the 16th century, Luther and Calvin both insist that if you want to understand why we cannot be justified by the merit of our own works, you have to imagine what you will say before the judgment throne of God.

C. Though doctrinally close to each other, these two views are imaginatively and emotionally far apart: Anselm is miserable because his earthly desires keep him far from God. The Reformers are afraid because they are sinners who must face God's judgment.

D. With their imagination focused on judgment, not journey, Protestants found nothing attractive in the notion of human merit.

III. What intervenes between the 12th and 16th centuries is the development of the penitential conscience, a heart whose concern is increasingly wrapped around issues of sin, judgment, and forgiveness.

A. *Conscience* is the target of medieval penitential practices tied to the sacrament of penance.

1. Originally, the word referred to someone who knows your secrets and is aware of evils you had done.

2. Later, it came to mean the inner witness in your heart, which knows what you have done.

3. For Luther, when the conscience is aware of sin, it does not have guilt feelings but, rather, feels terrified of God's judgment.

B. The new thing in the Middle Ages was the practice of private confession, which was required of all Christians by the fourth Lateran Council of 1215.

C. Private confession meant probing one's conscience not just for notorious sins but for evil desires and thoughts that might be mortal sins and could bring about damnation; this became a kind of trial run for facing God's judgment.

D. Hence, the medieval conscience was an anxious and terrified conscience, as illustrated by Margery Kempe in her autobiography.

E. Luther's doctrine of justification can be thought of as growing out of one of the deepest moments of medieval piety, the art of dying well: For when facing the hour of death, a Christian was to be directed by the priest to trust Christ alone, not his own merits or even the saints.

F. The greatest fear of all was sudden death, when you had no chance to confess your mortal sins and attain a state of grace.

Essential Reading:

Augustine, *On the Spirit and the Letter*, in *Later Works*, chapters 1–32.

Supplemental Reading:

Anselm, *Proslogion*, chapter 1.

Calvin, *Institutes* III, xii, 1.

Lecture Four
Young Luther Against Himself

Scope: Against his father's wishes, young Martin Luther became a monk, seeking to give all his love to God and, thereby, become righteous in God's sight. But that very seeking comes to look to him like a damnable form of self-love. As he works out his doctrine of justification in his early lectures as a Bible professor, he concludes that the only way to become truly righteous is to hate oneself and wish to be damned, agreeing with the righteous God who hates sinners and damns them. Not surprisingly, this early doctrine appears to lead young Luther to experiences of deep terror, as well as hatred of God. From this terror of conscience only the Gospel can rescue him.

Outline

I. In the late Middle Ages, the Augustinian picture of life as a journey of love toward God gave way before the fear of facing God and his judgment, inculcated by the practice of confession.

- **A.** Private confession could be a terrifying experience, as priests led penitents to probe their hearts and consciences for sins that could get them damned.
- **B.** Sudden death (for instance, in a thunderstorm) was especially feared because it left no time for repentance.

II. Why did the young man Luther become a monk?

- **A.** Caught in a thunderstorm, he prayed for help to Saint Anne and promised to become a monk.
  1. For Luther, the most fearsome possibility was to die in a state of mortal sin, which meant eternal damnation.
  2. To face death is to deal with the uncertainty of whether one is in a state of grace or a state of mortal sin, an uncertainty Luther later identified with the experience of purgatory.
  3. This state of fear and uncertainty seems to have been a fundamental experience of Luther's life throughout his time as a monk and beyond.

B. Becoming a monk did not solve Luther's problem of terror and uncertainty in the face of God.

1. Becoming a monk displeased his father, a hard-working businessman who expected his son to go to law school and earn worldly success.

2. A fundamental aim of monasticism is to give up one's own will (by a vow of obedience to one's superiors), yet Luther came to regard his entering the monastery as itself a willful act of disobedience to his father and, therefore, to God.

3. Luther went on to get a master's degree and a doctorate in theology and became a priest.

III. Luther's early doctrine of justification was a form of self-torture or torment of conscience.

A. We have manuscripts of Luther's lectures on Paul's letter to the Romans from when he was a little-known monk teaching Bible courses at the University of Wittenberg in 1513–1516, working out a distinctive doctrine of justification that is not yet that of the mature reformer.

B. The problem was how to come to love God.

1. The state of grace desired in Augustinian spirituality was a state of charity, pure love of God for God's own sake.

2. Luther's early theology was also indebted to Bernard of Clairvaux, the great 12th-century monastic writer who traced how we move from self-love to love of God for his own sake.

3. But young Luther made this problem intractable, because he argued that the sinful heart is inherently "curved in on itself," seeking only itself in all things, so that every desire for good things (even blessedness and salvation) became evil.

4. The only remedy for this evil self-love is self-hatred, which thus becomes the essential road to salvation.

C. The search for grace in Luther's early theology was never-ending.

1. In Augustine's *On the Spirit and the Letter*, which was extremely influential on Luther, the grace of God operates deep within the human heart, turning it from an outward obedience out of fear to an inward obedience out of love.

2. We are to seek grace by prayer and, the later Middle Ages added, acts of penance and confession.

3. The late-medieval theology in which Luther was trained taught that we must do our best to love God by our own natural powers, eliciting love for God by a sheer act of will so as to earn God's grace through "the merit of congruity."
4. But Luther, who always insisted that it was presumptuous for a man to claim any merit before, thought we must never believe we truly love God.
5. As a result, in his early theology, the whole life of a Christian is spent seeking grace but not finding it.

D. Luther's early doctrine of justification centered on self-accusation and self-hatred.

1. Young Luther taught that the just man always accuses himself.
2. Luther tried to deepen self-accusation into self-hatred and even the desire to be damned, because we are to please God by confessing that his judgment against our sins is true. To love God is to hate yourself.
3. Justification is, thus, hidden under its opposite: By agreeing with God's wrath against us and feeling it in our hearts, we justify him and he justifies us.
4. The problem was that this led to deeper fear of God rather than greater love for Him, thus setting up a vicious cycle of fear, resentment, and despair, leading to anger and hatred of God.

IV. What Luther's early theology was missing was the Gospel as God's kind word of promise.

A. Some Protestant scholars admire Luther's emphasis on pure, unselfish love.

B. Others focus on early Luther's "theology of the cross" (1518), in which God can be found only in suffering.

1. Luther spoke of finding God hidden under the opposite. For example, you find the grace of God hidden under an accusation; you find the love of God in hatred of self.
2. Thus, the "theology of the cross" meant: All good things were found under an evil exterior.

C. The key insight of Luther's so-called "tower experience," concerning the righteousness or justice of God, was already present in this early theology.

1. In this experience, Luther realized that the righteousness or justice of God is not the justice by which God punishes sins but the justice by which he makes us just.
2. But the way God makes us just, according to the early Luther, is by getting us to agree when he accuses and condemns us.

D. Likewise, Luther's early theology already included the doctrine that justification is by faith alone. However, it is not justification by believing in the promise of the Gospel—as in Luther's mature theology—but by believing that God is true in judging and condemning us.

E. The mature Luther, the one who changed the world, emerges only when he learns to distinguish between Law and Gospel, the word that accuses and the word that is kind and gracious.

Essential Reading:

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, chapters 1–2.

Luther, "Lectures on Romans," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 25, esp. pp. 151–154, 197–206, 210–222, 237–248, 379–384.

Supplemental Reading:

Augustine, *On the Spirit and the Letter*, in *Later Works*, chapters 1–32.

Bernard of Clairvaux, "On Loving God," in *Selected Works*.

Questions to Consider:

1. What do you suppose would have become of Luther had he not been caught in the sudden thunderstorm and bargained with Saint Anne to save him?
2. What are some of the defining moments in Luther's spiritual life thus far?

Lecture Five
Hearing the Gospel

Scope: For Luther the Gospel is a story that includes a divine promise of forgiveness, which forbids us from regarding ourselves as God's enemies. Instead of submitting to a judge who condemns, as in Luther's early theology, we must agree with a father who is kind and full of mercy. Though we remain unworthy sinners throughout our lives, the Gospel remains for us a word of comfort and joy, a promise of grace that gives what it promises to whoever believes it. As Luther describes it in his 1520 treatise *The Freedom of a Christian*, it is like a wedding vow that gives us a divine bridegroom, God's own son, together with all that is his: the righteousness of God, blessing, and eternal life. This modifies the Augustinian paradigm of spirituality, because Christ is not just the way, the road we take on our pilgrimage to God, but God coming to us and making himself ours.

Outline

I. The crucial proposal in the mature Luther's theology is to distinguish Gospel from Law.

A. Gospel and Law are both God's Word but are two different genres with two different purposes and two different effects on those who believe them.

B. The Law tells us what to do and, therefore, cannot save us (because our works can't save us).

1. The Law is God's commandments, to which are attached threats and accusations.

2. The Law's first purpose is its "civil use," which is to restrain evil outwardly by punishment and fear.

3. The Law's second purpose is its "evangelical use," which is to humble, terrify, and spiritually "kill" the sinner; this is "evangelical" because it is the true preparation for the Gospel, a preparation performed by God, not us.

4. In Luther's early theology, this spiritual humiliation is how we are justified, but the mature Luther gives an account of justification based on the Gospel instead.

C. Whereas Law is about what we do, Gospel is about what Christ does.

1. The Gospel is not a technique for getting saved, because that is something we would have to do, and Law, not Gospel, is about what we have to do.

2. The Gospel is not "practical" in the sense of giving us practical advice about how to apply God's Word to our lives, because that would be more talk about what we are to do.

3. In another sense, the Gospel is profoundly practical (Luther thinks) because it changes us from the inside out.

D. The Gospel is not "mere words" but a word that changes those who believe it.

1. The Gospel contains promises that give what is promised (for example, "This is my body, given for you.").

2. Justification is by faith alone, apart from works, because you receive what is promised not by doing something about it but simply by believing it is true.

3. The foundation of believers' confidence that they are justified is the certainty that God does not lie.

4. Luther's famous motto, "Believe it and you have it," makes sense only if the object of belief is a promise.

5. A more revealing motto is "The promise [of God] gives what the commandment requires."

6. With this motto, Augustine's exhortation that we flee to grace by prayer mutates into Luther's preaching that we flee to grace by taking hold of God's promise.

II. Luther's mature doctrine, set forth in *Freedom of a Christian*, argues that God justifies us by giving us Christ in his promise.

A. The Gospel is like a wedding vow in which Christ is the bridegroom giving himself to believers.

B. But in receiving this bridegroom, believers also receive all that is his, including the divine attributes of righteousness, holiness, blessedness, and so on.

C. The other side of the coin is that Christ the bridegroom receives all his beloved's debts, wounds, and sins, in what Luther calls a "blessed exchange."

D. On the cross, Christ fights what Luther calls a "mighty duel" and, by dying, defeats death.

E. Because the Gospel is a kind and comforting word, it also fills believers with comfort, good cheer, and gratitude, so that they are glad to love and obey God.

III. Luther's fixation on the Gospel has distinctive consequences for his view of God and humanity.

A. The most scandalous consequences have to do with his profound insistence on human sinfulness.

1. We're not ready for the Gospel until we give up all hope of justifying ourselves by works ("evangelical despair").

2. Even believers remain sinners, unable to find any merit or justification in themselves apart from Christ: They are, thus, "at the same time righteous and sinners" (the phrase is extremely important and usually given in Latin: *simul justus et peccator*).

3. Because all our righteousness comes by faith, all sin is unbelief.

4. Believers who look away from Christ are prone to *Anfechtung*, temptation or spiritual assault, in which all one sees in oneself is sin and unbelief; the anxious conscience returns and fatal despair becomes a real possibility.

B. Luther modifies the Augustinian paradigm of spirituality in other ways as well, which are subtle but profound.

1. The spiritual life is less like a journey, because Christ is a gift we receive rather than a road we travel.

2. Love for God is less like a longing and desire for our heavenly home and more like gladness and gratitude for a gift already received.

3. The contemplative notion of seeing God tends to drop out of Protestantism, because God is known by hearing his word.

Essential Reading:

Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian* (first half), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31, pp. 343–358; Lull, pp. 595–610; or Dillenberger, pp. 52–66.

Supplemental Reading:

Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther,* chapters 18–19.

Lecture Six
Faith and Works

Scope: Luther systematically distinguishes Law and Gospel: The one is God's commandment telling us what to do; the other is his promise telling us what he does for us. Because salvation comes simply by believing the Gospel, a question that inevitably arises is: What need is there for us to do any good works—especially works of love? Luther's answer, in the second half of *The Freedom of a Christian* and in other writings, such as his *Treatise on Good Works*, is that works of love make no contribution to our salvation or our righteousness before God but are needed by our neighbors. God saves us through faith in order to give us in love to our neighbors. It is as if the gift of Christ fills us to the brim and overflows in gifts and service to other people. This is what Luther calls our "proper righteousness," the imperfect but real change for the good in our lives as a result of the "alien righteousness," which is Christ given to us in the Gospel.

Outline

I. For Luther, what matters most in the Christian life is faith, not how Christians live out their faith—that is, good works.

A. Hence Luther's key formulation, that we are justified by faith alone, apart from works of the Law.

B. Faith alone re-makes us inwardly from the bottom of our hearts by changing our conscience, our awareness of how we stand before God.

C. Good works are how we live out our faith outwardly, in works of love for our neighbors.

D. Luther organizes the treatise on the *Freedom of a Christian* around these two points about faith and good works, which he states as two paradoxical theses.

1. "A Christian is perfectly free, lord of all, subject to none" because Christians are inwardly freed by faith from sin, death, and the devil.

2. "A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all" because Christians serve their neighbors outwardly with works of love.
3. The first half of *Freedom of a Christian* explains the first thesis; the second half explains the second thesis.

II. If we are justified by faith alone, then the question inevitably arises: What are we supposed to do with our lives once we are justified?

A. Luther's way of posing the question is: "Don't Christians have to do good works—works of love?"

1. For Luther, this is a question about what we are going to do now that we are free from sin and damnation.
2. It is as if a slave sold into prostitution has suddenly been given the king's son to marry: What does she do now that she is queen and disposes of all the wealth of the kingdom?
3. The answer is that the queen serves everybody in the kingdom, using her newfound wealth for the good of all her neighbors.
4. A favorite metaphor of Luther's is that the love of God poured into us from above overflows in good works to one's neighbor.
5. In doctrinal terms, the point is that anyone with true faith does works of love, not in order to be justified, but because she already is justified.
6. In one of his deepest formulations, we become Christs to one another (as the queen represents her husband when she gives his wealth away to others).

B. Good works serve both one's neighbor and one's own body.

1. Good works discipline the body, mortify the flesh, and fight against the sin that is still in us.
2. The fight against sin in us is cheerful, because we are to identify ourselves with Christ in us, not with "the old Adam" that still remains in us; hence, in contrast to Luther's early doctrine of justification, we are not to be our own enemies.
3. Good works do not help the soul, but they do help us outwardly.

C. In all this, the Law comes in to guide us in external ways.

1. The Law must not be allowed to touch the conscience, except to terrify us and drive us to the Gospel (the evangelical use of the Law).

2. The Law of God does not instruct believers how to be better Christians (that is, to become more righteous).

3. While we are in this life, we remain righteous and sinners at the same time. Everything we do is sin, including our good works, but our sin is not imputed or counted against us.

D. Why does Luther avoid speaking of the Law as a means of teaching Christians how to live better lives?

1. For Luther—as opposed to the doctrine of later Lutheranism—the Law has no third use beyond the evangelical and civic uses.

2. Luther wants Christians to focus on the Gospel, not the Law, as the catalyst for making them better Christians.

3. Luther's *Treatise on Good Works* clarifies the role of the Law in the Christian life.

4. The Law of God frees Christians from the burden of "self-chosen works."

5. Self-chosen works include any form of moralism or spirituality that adds extra duties to what is required by the Ten Commandments and other Scriptures.

6. Because of the command "Honor thy father and mother," a housemaid obeying her master has more certainty that she pleases God than the monk pursuing all the spiritual disciplines he imposes on himself apart from the requirements of Scripture.

III. To clarify the relation between faith and works, Luther distinguishes different kinds of righteousness.

A. The crucial distinction is between person and work, who we are and what we do—symbolized by tree and fruit.

B. As the tree must be good before the fruit is, so the person must be righteous before he can do good works.

C. What makes the person good is *alien* righteousness (literally, the righteousness of another), which is Christ in the heart; the good

works one does are *proper* righteousness (literally, one's own righteousness), which has nothing to do with justification.

D. Alien righteousness is the righteousness of God in us, making us a new kind of person.

E. Alien righteousness is *passive*, in that it is God's doing, not ours; proper righteousness is *active* because it consists of works we do.

Essential Reading:

Luther, *The Freedom of a Christian* (second half), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31, pp. 358–377; Lull, pp. 610–629; or Dillenberger, pp. 66–85.

Supplemental Reading:

Luther, "Two Kinds of Righteousness," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31, pp. 297–306; Lull, chapter 11; or Dillenberger, pp. 86–96.

Luther, *Treatise on Good Works*, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 44.

Questions to Consider:

1. Do you find Luther's critique of "spirituality" freeing or suffocating?

2. On the issue of how we become virtuous, do you prefer Luther to Aristotle or Aristotle to Luther—or do you think both are right in some sense?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Seven
The Meaning of the Sacraments

Scope: For Luther, the Gospel is an external word that gives believers what it promises, which means that word and sacrament are parallel: Both are outward signs that give the inward gift they signify. Indeed, Luther first works out his concept of Gospel as a word of forgiveness in writings on the sacrament of penance, where he identifies the word of absolution as a sacramental sign—so that in this case, the word *is* the sacrament. This lecture traces Luther's sacramental concept of the word of God in his earliest treatises on the sacraments, dealing with penance, baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body.

Outline

I. Luther develops his mature concept of the Gospel via the Catholic notion of a sacrament—an *external* thing that can make an *inward* change in a person.

A. Luther has two ways of dealing with "externals."

B. On the one hand, he treats external things as secondary or worthless.

1. While faith changes the heart within, works are outward deeds needed by our body or by our neighbor.

2. The righteousness that even pagans are capable of is outward, a righteousness of deeds before men, rather than the heart before God.

3. The more superstitious aspects of late-medieval piety (pilgrimages, indulgences, Masses for the dead) are mere outward works with no power to change the heart.

C. On the other hand, there is a sense in which Luther's faith is directed wholly at external things.

1. Though we must not trust outward works, even more emphatically, we must not trust ourselves.

2. When we look at ourselves apart from Christ, we see only sin; thus, we must continually look away from ourselves to find Christ in the Gospel, which is an external word.

3. The sacraments are part of the story about how we look away from ourselves to find Christ.
4. In fact, Luther first developed his understanding of the Gospel (as a gracious promise that gives what it promises) when he was thinking about the sacraments.

II. The sacraments for Luther have the same basic structure as the Gospel: They are signs that give the gift they signify to those who believe.

A. The theory of sacraments in Western Christianity stems from Augustine's theory of sacraments as signs of grace.
1. For Augustine, both sacraments and words are external signs signifying something inner.
2. Words signify the thoughts of the heart; sacraments signify an inward grace.
3. Medieval theologians added to this a theory of sacramental efficacy: Sacraments are signs that not only signify but confer grace.
4. Thus for Luther, the power of the Gospel is similar to that of a sacrament: The Gospel is a sign (promise) that gives what it signifies (promises) to those who believe it.

B. Luther analyzes the sacraments in terms of their sign structure.
1. The sacrament itself is an external sign (for example, the water of baptism).
2. It signifies and confers an inner gift (as baptism signifies and confers death and rebirth in Christ).
3. It does no good except when received in faith.
4. It is accompanied by a word without which the sign is a mute material object, not a sacrament (for example, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit").
5. It has its power or efficacy because of Christ's promise (for example, "whoever believes and is baptized is saved").

III. Luther first describes the Gospel as a gracious and efficacious promise when discussing the sacrament of penance.

A. This turn to the sacrament to find the Gospel happens in 1518–1519, after the Reformation is already under way.
1. Despite his dedication to a penitential life, Luther shows no interest in the *sacrament* of penance prior to the indulgence controversy, which began the Reformation.

2. Given that indulgences are theologically part of the sacrament of penance, it was a topic Luther could not avoid once he began criticizing indulgences.
3. German scholar Oswald Bayer locates this crucial discovery in an untranslated and little-known set of disputation theses, *On the true way to question and console frightened consciences* (1518).
4. These theses form the outline for a sermon on the sacrament of penance (1519) that is available in English.

B. The sacrament of penance was traditionally divided into four parts.
1. Confession: The penitent confesses his sins to the priest (called the *confessor*).
2. Contrition: The penitent should be contrite, which means he hates his sin and seriously intends to sin no more.
3. Satisfaction: The penitent is assigned some works of penance to make satisfaction (that is, to make up for) his sins.
4. Absolution: The priest formally forgives the penitent's sins, saying the word of absolution: "I absolve you of your sins in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit."

C. Luther's treatment of the sacrament of penance shifts the emphasis from the inward penitence of contrition to the external word of absolution.
1. For Luther, the word of absolution functions as the external sign of the sacrament of penance.
2. The penitent should hear the absolution as if Christ himself were saying it.
3. Christ himself promises, "what you loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."
4. This "gift of the keys" given to Peter in Matthew 16:19 is not just for the pope or the priest but for all Christians—even women and children can absolve sins at need.

D. Luther's focus on the sacrament of penance stems from his concern with indulgences and marks a crucial turning point in his theology.

Essential Reading:

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, chapter 3.

Luther, "The Sacrament of Penance," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35.

Lecture Eight
The Indulgence Controversy

Scope: The Reformation began with the indulgence controversy, when Luther posted his famous 95 Theses on the church door at Wittenberg on October 31, 1517. Luther's doctrine of the Gospel took shape as he considered what was wrong with indulgences and how they undermined true penance. While Luther was coming to ever more radical theological conclusions, the indulgence controversy exploded in public when Luther's earliest papal opponent labeled him a heretic because he questioned the pope's actions. This exaggerated papalism shifted the focus of discussion and helped turn an academic theological disputation about indulgences into a Europe-wide controversy about papal authority and the doctrine of justification by faith alone.

Outline

I. The beginning of the Reformation is traditionally dated October 31, 1517, when Luther nailed 95 Theses to the church door in Wittenberg.

A. Yet no one, least of all Luther, expected a sweeping reformation of the church to come of this.

1. The theses were not nailed up in protest against the church but were posted on the bulletin board on the church door, announcing an academic disputation in Latin that was unreadable to the laity.

2. The theses concerned only the narrow issue of "the power and efficacy of indulgences."

3. They were directed against certain local abuses by indulgence-sellers, which were corrected before the Reformation was even fully underway.

4. They never question the authority of the pope and repeatedly insist that the abuses they critique are contrary to the pope's wishes.

5. They are based on Luther's early theology of self-hatred and do not mention justification by faith alone.

B. Hence, there is a complicated story to tell about how an academic criticism of a specific local abuse grew into a principled alternative

to the medieval Catholic form of ecclesiastical control over anxious consciences and, thence, into the Reformation.

II. The events leading up to the posting of the 95 Theses are a late-medieval story.

A. The story begins with Albert of Brandenburg acquiring the archbishopric of Mainz, which is very expensive, and funding it through a sale of indulgences, which went to pay off the pope and help build St. Peter's in Rome.

B. The indulgences were hawked by a traveling salesman, a Dominican named Tetzel, who is famous for the jingle "As soon as the coin in the coffer rings, a soul from Purgatory upward springs."

C. Tetzel's activities were banned by the elector Frederick of Saxony (where Luther lived) to keep people from being fleeced by Rome.

D. This was not a rejection of indulgences *per se*, which Frederick believed in, together with the power of relics, Masses for the dead, and so on; all were important to Wittenberg's economy.

E. By this time, Luther had been appointed town preacher, as well as university professor, and his public opposition to indulgences stems from concern for the spiritual health of his flock.

1. The 95 Theses pitted his theology of self-hatred, which he thought of as true inward penance, against confidence in the uncertain promise of indulgences.

2. Although reputable authorities never claimed indulgences could forgive sins but only remit punishment in purgatory, less reputable representatives, including Tetzel, were not always so clear.

3. The 95 Theses strike at the heart of the theology of indulgences, arguing that the church has no power to remit the penalties of purgatory.

4. In order to make this theological argument, Luther must think for the first time about penance as a sacrament, which results in a dramatic change in his theology, described in Lecture Seven.

III. Within a year after the posting of the 95 Theses, the debate came to center on papal authority and justification by faith.

A. In 1518, Luther writes a defense of the theses in which the new theology of justification by faith becomes increasingly prominent.

B. In October 1518, after the imperial Diet of Augsburg, Luther is interviewed by Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate, for three days.

1. Cajetan's brief from the pope is to secure Luther's recantation or have him arrested and sent to Rome.

2. Against Cajetan's intentions, the interview turns into a debate, where Luther defends not only his criticism of indulgences but also his view of papal authority and justification by faith in the promise of God.

3. Catching wind of the plans to arrest him, Luther escapes Augsburg by night and returns to Wittenberg a hunted man, a year after posting the 95 Theses.

C. Suddenly, the issue of the authority of the pope becomes central to the debate.

1. Prierias argues that because the pope is infallible, anyone who disagrees with him is a heretic.

2. A year later, Prierias appeals to the canon law that says popes cannot be deposed, even if they lead multitudes to hell; this helps convince Luther that the papacy is Antichrist.

Essential Reading:

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, chapters 4–5.

Luther, Ninety-five Theses, in Dillenberger, Lull, and *Luther's Works*, vol. 31.

Supplemental Reading:

Luther, "Explanations of the Ninety-five Theses," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31 (for the emergence of the Reformation doctrine of justification, look at the explanations of Theses 7, 38, and 62).

Luther, Proceedings at Augsburg, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 31.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is this story so far like the Luther you had expected to hear about?

2. Could or should Luther have managed to find some way to be critical of papal abuses without rejecting the papacy as an anti-Christian institution?

Lecture Nine
The Reformation Goes Public

Scope: Under the protection of his prince, the elector Frederick "the Wise" of Saxony, Luther is kept safe from Rome and is able to develop a program of Reformation and advocate it in a voluminous outpouring of writings that start to change the religious landscape of Europe. His address *To the Christian Nobility* picks up age-old complaints of the nobility versus the clergy and transforms them into a radically new vision of church and society. By the time he must face trial as a heretic, it is not before the pope but the emperor at the Diet of Worms (1521), from which come the famous words "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise." Declared a criminal by the Edict of Worms, Luther goes into hiding in the castle at the Wartburg, once again under Frederick's protection. The future of the Lutheran Reformation is tied ever afterward to the protection of rulers.

Outline

I. After 1518, the case of Martin Luther becomes increasingly public and political.

A. Frederick the Wise, elector of Saxony, is Luther's indispensable protector in these years.

1. Pressured by Cajetan to hand Luther over and uncertain what to make of Luther's teaching, Frederick nonetheless asks Luther not to flee and refuses to hand him over.

2. Frederick can get away with these delaying tactics for quite some time, because the impending imperial elections make him the most powerful and sought-after prince in Germany.

B. In these crucial years, Luther has a breathing space in which he out-writes his opponents.

1. First of all, quantitatively: Beginning in 1519, Luther's literary output is vast and soon provides a small library of Reformation writings.

2. The impact of these writings is vastly enhanced by the new technology of printing, which creates an entirely different

social environment from any previous attempt by Rome to suppress heresy.

3. Luther out-debated his opponents, often getting straight to the point, where they dealt in scholastic technicalities.
4. Luther's style is direct and unadorned, yet emotionally convincing, and even in his Latin works, free of the pomposity and abstraction that burden his opponents' writing.
5. In his German works, Luther wrote with an unprecedented power, eloquence, and directness that brought the German language into its own for perhaps the first time in history.
6. In the astonishing year of 1520, he writes four treatises that become cornerstones of Reformation theology: *Treatise on Good Works*, *To the Christian Nobility*, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, and *Freedom of a Christian.*

C. In 1520, the battle with the papacy resumes.

1. The papal bull *Exsurge Domine* is published, condemning Luther's teachings and calling for his books to be burned.
2. Luther responds by burning the bull, along with papal decretals and books on canon law.

II. The address *To the Christian Nobility* illustrates the appeal of Luther to his fellow Germans.

A. Luther appeals to the nobility as Christian princes responsible for both the temporal and spiritual welfare of their people.

1. Their concern should be for "the misery and distress of suffering Christendom," oppressed by "the popes and the Romanists."
2. Most fundamentally, Roman control of German benefices means that money flows from Germany to Rome while the people are left without pastors.
3. Also, church courts claim extensive jurisdiction, protecting criminal clerics and referring cases to Rome for settlement, providing ample opportunity for bribery and extortion.

B. Luther sides with the princes in the centuries-old medieval power politics between temporal and spiritual powers but gives the princes a radically new theological rationale that will re-shape the church itself.

1. Luther rejects the very notion of a special social class of clergy as a "spiritual estate," because baptism makes all Christians spiritual and priests.
2. The clergy have different work, not different status, called to be ministers of the Word of the Gospel for the good of others and to be supported voluntarily by the congregations.
3. The humbler German clergy stand to gain from Luther's proposals, released from the burdens of clerical celibacy and the resulting tax on concubinage.
4. For Luther, the papal system is Antichrist, functioning to funnel wealth to some by doing spiritual harm to others.

III. At the Diet of Worms (1521), Luther takes a stand before the emperor himself.

A. Fredrick's efforts to get Luther a fair trial eventually land him in front of the emperor Charles V at the next Diet, held at Worms in April 1521.
1. By this time, the issue is much more than just 95 Theses: The papal prosecutors point to a whole pile of books, ask Luther if they're his, and demand that he recant and retract them.
2. His ultimate reply is not about freedom of conscience but about his conscience being captive to God's Word.
3. The famous words "Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise," were probably added to the written account later.
4. Nonetheless, they sum up his attitude well—not defiant but compelled to disobey even the emperor.

B. The Edict of Worms issued at the end of the Diet makes Luther a condemned criminal, and he goes into hiding in the castle at the Wartburg.
1. Though effectively in exile, Luther is in close contact with friends in Wittenberg as they begin the practical reform of the church according to Lutheran doctrines.
2. He also gets an enormous amount of work done, most importantly, the translation of the New Testament into German.

C. Thus begins the most intensive decade of the Lutheran Reformation, which will culminate with the Lutheran princes presenting the *Augsburg Confession* to the same emperor, Charles V, in the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.

D. Ever afterward, the Lutheran reformation thrives only under the protection of the state.

1. In contrast to Reformed and Anabaptist churches, the Lutheran church is typically a state church.

2. In the immediate aftermath, this means that wars between Lutheran and Catholic princes threaten Germany for more than a century.

3. The year after Luther's death, Electoral Saxony and the town of Wittenberg are overrun by the soldiers of Emperor Charles V.

4. Eventually, the Peace of Augsburg (1555) affirms that each prince will be allowed to establish his own religion while tolerating the other (*cujus regio, ejus religio*).

5. This is, in turn, the basis for the Peace of Westphalia, ending the Thirty Years' War in 1648, which can be thought of as the end of medieval Christendom.

Essential Reading:

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, chapters 6–10.

Supplemental Reading:

Luther, *To the Christian Nobility of the German Nation*, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 44, and Dillenberger (under the title "An Appeal to the Ruling Class").

Melanchthon, *The Augsburg Confession*, in Leith and in Tappert.

Questions to Consider:

1. What were the losses and gains of Luther's blanket rejection of the papacy?

2. Can a church retain its integrity as a state church?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Ten
The Captivity of the Sacraments

Scope: Among the world-changing works Luther published in the amazing year of 1520 is a treatise on the sacraments, *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. In it, Luther criticizes the Catholic sacramental system on the basis of his understanding of the word of God. He interprets the Mass as a promise in which God gives us Christ, rather than a sacrifice in which the priest offers Christ to God, and he presents an epochal criticism of the Catholic concept of transubstantiation. He treats baptism and the Lord's Supper (and, in a way, penance) as sacraments but argues that the rest of the traditional seven sacraments—confirmation, marriage, holy orders, and extreme unction—are not properly sacraments, because they do not contain a divine promise plus a sign.

Outline

I. In 1520, Luther wrote a series of groundbreaking works.

A. *The Freedom of a Christian* is about a Christian's inner freedom of soul.

B. *To the Christian Nobility* is about Christian rulers' outward responsibility for the church.

C. *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* is not about inner freedom but outward captivity, that is, the corruption of the church's institutional life that "takes captive" the sacraments, which are external signs.

II. Most famously, Luther reduces the number of sacraments from seven to two.

A. To do this, Luther uses a modified version of the traditional Augustinian definition of *sacrament*, adding an insistence on faith in Christ's promise.

1. A *sacrament* is traditionally an external sign of God's inner gift of grace, which confers that grace.

2. Luther adds: The sacraments are founded on Christ's promise and, therefore, to be received only by faith.

B. Using this definition as criterion, several church practices that Luther approves of are nonetheless not accorded the special status of sacraments.

1. Confirmation (or laying on of hands) is a worthy church practice going back to the New Testament but with no specific promise attached to it.

2. Extreme unction (or anointing of the dying) is a practice instituted in the New Testament letter of James, not by Christ himself.

3. Marriage is a gift of God to the whole human race, not just to the church.

C. The Catholic sacrament of holy orders (ordination) is the only one Luther simply rejects, for reasons that display a crucial structure of Lutheran thought.

1. Ordination is a practice not authorized in Scripture, neither by command nor by promise.

2. It is, therefore, a human invention, which may be freely practiced but is not required to be believed.

3. This freedom from the requirement to believe is what Luther means by *freedom of conscience*.

4. One of the most crucial principles of Lutheran theology is that it is sin to teach or practice such human inventions as if they were necessary for faith or Christian life.

5. By this principle, the Catholic sacrament of holy orders is sinful.

6. Above all, Luther rejects as unbiblical the notion that ordination makes a fundamental interior change in the person ordained, so that he can perform the special functions of the priesthood, such as saying Mass.

D. At the beginning of the *Babylonian Captivity*, Luther counts penance as a sacrament, but by the end, he has changed his mind.

1. He thinks of it as a sacrament because it is founded on Christ's promise ("whatever you loose/absolve on earth is loosed in heaven," Matthew 16:19).

2. But he later rules it out because it contains no external sign other than the word of absolution itself.

3. Nonetheless, he retains it as a sacrament in a sense, because it is really (in his view) part of the sacrament of baptism.

4. In particular, Luther heartily endorses the practice of private confession and absolution as a great comfort to troubled consciences.
5. What happens in penance is that we return to baptism.
6. Penance is not a "second plank" to save you after you make a shipwreck of your baptism, but a returning to the ship, which is still sound (because it is based on God's promise, not our obedience).
7. Hence, Luther rejects the whole panoply of penitential works developed in late-medieval Catholicism: pilgrimages, works of satisfaction, special vows, indulgences.

III. The sacrament of baptism is founded on a divine promise of new life in Christ.

A. The promise attached to baptism is: "whoever believes and is baptized is saved" (Mark 16:16).

B. The sign is immersion in water, and its significance is death and rebirth, hence, new life in Christ.

C. Believers are to have faith in the promise and, therefore, to be certain that its significance (salvation, rebirth in Christ) is present in their lives.

D. Although the sign is over with quickly, the significance is enduring: For their whole lives, believers are living by the baptismal promise and growing in the new life, dying to this world and alive to Christ.

IV. The sacrament of bread and wine is a gift of Christ that Luther thinks Rome has tried to take captive in three ways.

A. Communion in both kinds (that is, both bread and wine) should not be prohibited.
1. Church law at the time forbade the laity to receive from the cup as well as the host.
2. Luther thought this was a wicked and unjustified restriction but that it did no great harm, because it concerned only the sign, not the thing signified.

B. Luther criticizes but does not abominate the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

1. *Transubstantiation* means that the very substance or essence of the bread and wine is changed into the body and blood of Christ.
2. After the consecration of the Eucharistic host, there is no bread left, only the appearance ("species") of bread.
3. Although Luther always affirms the real presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, he thinks the miracle of transforming the bread into Christ's body is superfluous and has no support in Scripture.
4. In Luther's teaching, the bread remains bread, but Christ's body is in it, fulfilling his promise, "This is my body, given for you."
5. According to this *doctrine of Real Presence*, Christ's physical body is physically present in the bread, though perceptible only to faith, not the senses.

C. Luther abominates the Catholic doctrine that the Mass is a sacrifice or good work.

1. The practice he has in view here is the private, endowed masses in which priests are paid to say masses for someone's soul in purgatory or some other spiritual benefit.
2. The key Catholic claim is that the priest offers Christ himself to the father as an "unbloody sacrifice" every time Mass is said, and that this earns various spiritual benefits worth paying for.
3. The Mass is, thus, a good work that "works" *ex opera operato*, simply by "working it" right.
4. Most Protestants see this as a sort of superstitious magic; Luther sees it also as blasphemy, the claim to have power over Christ.
5. For Luther, on the contrary, the sacrament is not a human work but a divine gift.
6. Much of Luther's criticism of the medieval church can be summed up this way: These are people trying to give things to God so as to earn a reward, rather than receiving from him what he has freely promised in Christ.

Lecture Eleven

Reformation in Wittenberg

Scope: The Reformation that sweeps Europe in the 1520s begins in Wittenberg, Luther's hometown. This is where he learns to make the reforms work to build the life of the church rather disrupt it, with a focus on making the Gospel heard and understood by ordinary laypeople. This is also where his own life is drastically changed by the Reformation, as monks and nuns themselves become ordinary laypeople and the ex-monk Martin Luther marries an ex-nun named Katherine von Bora. They live in the old monastery; raise a large family; keep house for dozens of relatives, guests, and boarders; and set the pattern for clergy marriages ever afterward in the Protestant tradition. We know a great deal about Luther's home and marriage because his guests often wrote down his table talk at dinner, thus creating one of the most characteristic and endearing records of the Lutheran Reformation.

Outline

I. While Luther was in hiding at the Wartburg, the practical reformation of the church began in Wittenberg.

A. The crucial figures were cautious Philip Melanchthon, a brilliant young academician but never quite sure of himself, and impatient Andreas von Karlstadt, who eventually became Luther's first important Protestant enemy.

B. Key changes begin to be made in public worship.

1. References to the sacrifice in the Mass are removed.

2. The words of institution ("This is my body" and so on) are said in German, and eventually, the whole service is in the vernacular rather than in Latin.

3. The cup as well as the bread is given to the laity.

C. The problem arises of those with "weak consciences" who are anxious about the loss of old ways and not confident with the new.

1. Karlstadt was willing to impose the changes by compulsion, and others used intimidation and violence.

2. When Luther returns to Wittenberg he opposes going too fast, compelling weak consciences, and violence.

D. Karlstadt condemned the use of images, which Luther thought was a matter of indifference, so long as they were not thought of as necessary works.

II. Luther rejects clerical celibacy in the name of Christian freedom.

A. While Luther is away, priests begin to marry and he approves.

1. The reasoning here is simple: Given that God's Word does not command clerical celibacy, priests are free to marry.

2. This also serves to erase the distinction between clergy and laity.

B. Monks are a more difficult issue, because of their solemn vows of celibacy.

1. Karlstadt and Melanchthon wrote about the various reasons and circumstances under which monks may legitimately be released from their vows.

2. Luther's approach is more radical: Monastic vows are not binding under any circumstances because they are contrary to the freedom of the Gospel.

C. This judgment of Luther's uncovers the key logic of Christian freedom.

1. Things in themselves allowable (such as a vow of celibacy) become sin when they turn into a law of works that binds the conscience with obligations apart from faith in the Gospel.

2. *Monkishness*, *self-chosen worship*, *works-righteousness*, and *the doctrines of men* are Luther's terms for any kind of spirituality that makes any obligations a matter of conscience apart from faith in the Gospel.

3. These same practices are allowable if free, that is, not binding on conscience.

4. Hence, they can be required as civic law demanding conformity to outward regulations.

5. Luther rejects the position later associated with Puritanism: that Christian worship must be "pure," that is, free from any non-biblical accretions.

III. One of the consequences of this judgment against monastic vows is that Luther himself becomes a husband and father.

A. In 1525, he marries Katherine von Bora, the last of a batch of runaway nuns who all needed husbands.

B. They live at Luther's old monastery in Wittenberg, where they raise a family, take in numerous boarders, and become one of the most well-known families in history.

C. His boarders, students, and many invited guests took notes of his dinner-table conversation, which give us a vivid sense of his personality and family life.

D. Characteristics of his table talk include joviality, a lively and self-deprecating sense of humor that is often coarse, tenderness toward his children, a tendency to tease his wife, and bitterness toward the pope and other enemies of the Gospel.

Essential Reading:

Bainton, *Here I Stand*, chapters 11–12, 17.

Luther, "Eight Sermons at Wittenberg (March 1522)" (also known as the "Invocavit Sermons"), in *Luther's Works*, vol. 51, pp. 70–100, and Lull, chapter 20.

Supplemental Reading:

Luther, "The Judgment of Martin Luther on Monastic Vows," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 44.

———, "Receiving Both Kinds in the Sacrament," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 36.

———, "Table Talk," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 54 (makes wonderful browsing).

Questions to Consider:

1. Does Luther's rationale for releasing monks from their vows seem sound to you, or is it an excuse to break a binding vow?

2. Do you think you would have liked Luther if you had met him?

Lecture Twelve
The Work of the Reformer

Scope: Luther did more than write scholarly treatises against the pope. His work as a Reformer, aimed at bringing the Gospel into the hearts of ordinary people, left an indelible mark on German culture. First of all, he translated the whole Bible into German, so that people who were not scholars and knew no Latin could read it. That in itself is an amazing accomplishment for one man, but Luther did more. He composed catechisms for Christian instruction that are still used today. He wrote deeply sensitive letters of spiritual counsel, giving pastoral advice to all sorts of people in all sorts of difficult circumstances. And he wrote music designed to fill people's hearts with the Gospel, including such famous hymns as "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God."

Outline

I. Luther's translation of the Bible is one of his most powerful contributions to the Reformation, as well as to German culture.

- **A.** Luther translates directly from the original Hebrew and Greek, not from the Latin version most familiar to clergy at the time.
- **B.** Although not the first translation of the Bible into German, Luther's Bible was the first to make God speak good German.
- **C.** Luther's extraordinary gift for the German language is acquired by listening carefully to ordinary people and taking their speech as the standard of good German.
- **D.** What he gives them in return is God speaking to them in their own tongue, which is accordingly ennobled.
- **E.** Luther loves the distinctive resources of the German language, such as the word *liebe*, usually translated by the English word "dear" but actually closer to "beloved."
- **F.** Although wanting ordinary people to have God's Word in their own language, Luther does not advocate private interpretation of the Bible, apart from the tradition of Christian teaching in creed and catechism.

II. Luther's two catechisms are also powerful means of bringing the Reformation Gospel into the hearts of ordinary Germans.

A. The *catechism*, when Luther uses the word, means essentially: instruction in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the creed, and the sacraments.

1. In the preface to the *Small Catechism*, Luther complains about the terrible ignorance of churches he has visited where the people are not taught these things.

2. In the preface to the *Large Catechism*, he insists that he is himself still a student of the catechism.

B. The catechisms Luther writes are, thus, his commentary on the basic truths of the Gospel and how they should be taught to all Christians.

C. The *Small Catechism* is intended for memorization by unlearned people.

1. It emphasizes the goodness of God, as seen by all he has done for us.

2. It memorably expands the Ten Commandments into an ethic for the whole of Christian life.

3. In contrast to other Protestants churches, it retains the practice of private confession of sins to a pastor.

4. It is characterized by a distinctive note of cheerfulness.

D. The *Large Catechism* is far more discursive and argumentative and includes authoritative summaries of Luther's theological position.

1. It is famous for its definition of God as "that from which the heart seeks all good things."

2. It affirms the piety of ordinary people doing humble jobs over the spirituality of the monks.

III. Luther's letters of spiritual consolation show him at his personal best, aiming to comfort those in all kinds of trouble, anxiety, and distress.

A. He writes for women suffering miscarriages or infants who have died without baptism, assuring them that, according to Romans 8:26–27, their sighs baptize and save the child.

B. He writes his mother as she is dying, addressing the anxieties of late-medieval people facing death and insisting that she believe the comforting words of Christ.

IV. Luther's hymns, to which he wrote both words and music, are also meant to bring the Gospel into people's hearts.

A. Luther has astonishing things to say about the power and value of music, which is next to

B. One well known hymn is "From Heav'n on High to Earth I Come," which rehearses the Christmas story in 15 verses.

C. Most famous is "A Mighty Fortress Is Our God," which was originally published under the title Psalm 46.

Essential Reading:

Luther, "Comfort for Women Who Have Had a Miscarriage," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 43, pp. 247–250.

———, Letter to his Mother, in *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, pp. 33–36.

———, *Small Catechism*, in Leith and in Tappert.

Supplemental Reading:

Luther, *The Large Catechism*, also found in Tappert.

———, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel* (makes wonderful reading).

———, Liturgy and Hymns, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 53.

———, "On Translating," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35.

Questions to Consider:

1. How does Luther's approach to religious instruction compare with your own experience?

2. How do Luther's hymns compare with your favorite music?

Lecture Thirteen
Against the Spirit of Rebellion

Scope: Luther was an opponent of both spirituality and rebellion, which he found often went hand in hand. Early in the 1520s, his controversies with Protestant critics who were hostile to all external institutions strengthened his conviction that the Gospel was an external word and that Christians were obligated to submit to external, civil authorities. Although sympathetic to peasant grievances, he was appalled when they led to the Great Peasant War of 1525 and wrote a harsh tract, "Against the Robbing and Murdering Horde of the Peasants," insisting that Christians in good conscience should "stab, smite, and slay" those rebelling against legitimate authority. The brief Anabaptist takeover of the city of Münster in 1536 confirmed Luther's hostility to the radical wing of the Reformation, a hostility that had a lasting effect on the religious and political landscape of Protestant Europe.

Outline

I. Luther was opposed to the kind of internalized spirituality that makes overturning external forms of worship into a matter of principle.

A. Luther's opposition to Karlstadt's taking the Reformation too fast had theological as well as practical reasons behind it.

1. Luther opposed Karlstadt's tendency to put the Spirit before the Word, the inner witness of God in the heart before external preaching from the Bible.

2. In Luther's view, Karlstadt's opposition to the externalization of religion, for instance, his opposition to images in church, meant burdening the conscience with new laws.

3. It also meant, ironically, tying salvation to external things (that is, to rejecting them).

4. Karlstadt is the first representative of the Puritan principle that whatever church practices are not in Scripture are forbidden (because they make the church's worship impure).

5. Luther takes the view that what is not in Scripture is "free," neither commanded nor prohibited, so long as the conscience does not depend on it as a good work.

6. The difference between Karlstadt and Luther is, thus, a harbinger of crucial and long-standing divisions within Protestantism itself.

B. The conflict over how fast to go in reforming the church spilled over into violence.

1. In Wittenberg, students and monks sympathizing with Luther rioted, interrupting the Mass, intimidating Catholics, and destroying images in the church.
2. If any changes do have to be enforced, Luther insists, it must be done by the legitimate authority of the prince.
3. While Luther was still at the Wartburg, the "Zwickau prophets" appeared in Wittenberg, claiming that the Spirit spoke to them without the Bible, prophesying the destruction of the wicked and condemning infant baptism.
4. The pastor at Zwickau, Thomas Müntzer, preached apocalyptic hopes of the destruction of the wicked and later led part of the peasant rebellion.
5. When such people claimed that the Spirit spoke within them, Luther answered that it was the spirit of murder and rebellion.
6. Thus emerges another key division in Protestantism: For the magisterial Reformation (Lutheran and Reformed), the Spirit speaks only through the external word of Scripture.

C. A spectrum begins to emerge, with Roman Catholics on the right, the radical reformation (including Anabaptists) on the left, and the magisterial (state-supported) Reformation in the middle (Reformed to the left of Lutheran).

II. The Great Peasant War of 1524–1525 confirmed Luther's opposition to all rebellion.

A. Though the immediate causes of the peasant rebellion were socioeconomic, many of the peasant groups adopted the "Twelve Articles," which framed their grievances in terms designed to appeal to Luther.

1. The articles were a list of grievances submitted for negotiation while the peasants were in arms, but open warfare had not yet begun.
2. The peasants claimed not to be rebels but Christians concerned with living according to the word of God.

3. Their first article claims the right for villages to choose their own pastor and to use their tithes to support him.

B. Luther's reply ("An Admonition to Peace") blames both lord and peasant, but delegitimates all rebellion.

1. Luther puts the blame for the peasant rebellion squarely on the injustice of their lords.
2. But he also attacks the fundamental theological claims of the "Twelve Articles," above all, the claim that the peasants were Christians.
3. For Luther, Christians do not fight back against injustice but suffer it, as Christ did.
4. The freedom of Christians is inward, in the conscience, not outward, where they are the willing servants of all, even those who treat them unjustly.
5. Even on the grounds of purely natural law, rebellion is always evil because it "uses force to take away authority."

C. After open war broke out, Luther wrote his famously harsh booklet "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants."

1. The book was not an address to the peasants but to the lords and all who were loyal to them, as instruction to their consciences.
2. As servants of legitimate authority, they must in good conscience take up the sword and "smite, stab and slay" any rebel.
3. The booklet was published after the peasants were defeated and the lords were in the process of slaughtering them.
4. Though Luther condemned the massacre of prisoners and the innocent, he never retracted his views and even wrote a lengthy defense of "the harsh book against the peasants."
5. His key contention is that the use of the sword by the ruler is both a harbinger of hell for the wrongdoer and a work of mercy protecting the peaceful, innocent, and weak.

III. The last gasp of revolutionary spirituality in Luther's lifetime was the Anabaptist takeover of the city of Münster in 1534–1535.

A. Anabaptism was radical in its separation of the Christian community (marked by baptism) from the civic life of Christendom.

B. Though largely pacifist from its inception, the Anabaptist movement in the 1530s had a violent, apocalyptic wing.

C. For about a year, Münster was an Anabaptist city, armed against the outside world. It was besieged by both Catholic and Protestant forces, and when it was captured in June 1535, the whole population of the city was slaughtered.

D. The memory of Münster fueled Christendom's fear and hatred of the Anabaptists, even while subsequent Anabaptist movements (Mennonites and Hutterites) remained resolutely pacifist and widely persecuted.

Essential Reading:

Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, chapters 4 and 6.

Luther, "Admonition to Peace" and "Against the Robbing and Murdering Hordes of Peasants," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 46.

Supplemental Reading:

Lindberg, *The Reformation Theologians*, chapters 22–23 (on Karlstadt and Müntzer).

Luther, "An Open Letter on the Harsh Book against the Peasants."

———, "Letter to the Princes of Saxony concerning the Rebellious Spirit," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 40.

Williams, *The Radical Reformation*, chapters 3–4, 13–14.

Questions to Consider:

1. What do you make of the magisterial Reformation's insistence that there is no valid spirituality independent of God's word?

2. Does Luther have a point about the intrinsic evil of rebellion, or does he go too far (or both)?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Fourteen

Controversy Over the Lord's Supper

Scope: The relation between the Lutheran and Reformed wings of the Reformation is defined above all by their disagreement about the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. The Reformed tradition, centered originally in Switzerland, was more resolutely anti-Catholic than the Lutherans in Wittenberg. Its most important early leader, Huldreich Zwingli of Zurich, argued that the Eucharist was a memorial that symbolized Christ's body but did not make it really present. Luther found this view literally devilish, an attempt to take Christ away from Christians. The roots of the disagreement were, for Luther, absolutely fundamental, having to do with the distinctive presence and person of Christ, who is God in the flesh, present everywhere but given to us in the sacramental bread and wine, whether we believe it or not.

Outline

I. The Reformed tradition is a wing of the Reformation that must be distinguished from the Lutheran Reformation.

A. The Reformed are so called because of their central insistence that the church must be reformed according to the word of God.

B. The movement originated in Zurich under Zwingli and spread through much of Switzerland (including a generation later to Geneva under Calvin), then to England and America as Puritanism, Presbyterianism, and Congregationalism.

C. The Reformed agree with Luther on the three "*sola*'s": that we are saved *sola fide* (by faith alone, apart from works), *sola gratia* (by grace alone, without merit) and *sola scriptura* (by trusting in the teaching of Scripture alone, with no addition of traditional church teaching required for salvation).

D. Like Karlstadt, the Reformed tend to be more resolutely anti-Catholic about external things than Luther, insisting on removing images from the church, and so on.

II. The key disagreement between Lutheran and Reformed is over Luther's doctrine of the real presence of the body of Christ in the Lord's Supper.

A. Zwingli's view removes the last vestiges of the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation.

1. The supper is a memorial of Christ (who said, "Do this in remembrance of me") and an outward sign or badge of participation in the Christian community.

2. Christ's body is not literally present in the sacrament but is symbolized by the bread.

3. Because "the flesh avails nothing " (John 6:63), there is nothing to be gained by literally eating Christ's flesh.

B. The disagreement can be elucidated by setting it in the context of the Augustinian view of the sacraments that Zwingli and Luther share.

1. The sacrament is a sign that functions as a means of grace.

2. The sacrament does not confer what it signifies except to those who believe.

3. Apart from faith, the sign is present but not the thing it signifies.

4. Hence, the sacrament received without faith is a valid sacrament but not efficacious: It is a mere sign that does the recipient no good.

C. The crucial conceptual difference between Luther's view and Zwingli's is that for Luther, Christ's body belongs to the sacramental sign, not the thing it signifies.

1. Given that a sign is part of the very nature of the sacrament, the sign (Christ's body) is present whenever there is a valid sacrament.

2. Because the sacrament is valid apart from faith, Christ's body is present even for unbelievers.

3. Hence, even unbelievers who partake of the sacrament receive Christ's literal body.

4. This Lutheran doctrine, called *manducatio indignorum* ("eating by the unworthy"), marks the crucial difference between Lutheran and Reformed views.

5. According to this Lutheran doctrine, the unworthy receive Christ's body to their own harm, as a sacrament that is valid but not efficacious as a means of grace.
6. The sacramental sign is external and bodily; thus, for Luther, the body of Christ is present in an external and bodily way.
7. Hence, the body of Christ is quite literally "there in the bread," though of course, it cannot be seen or tasted there except by faith.

D. Several factors make it very difficult to give a fair, clear statement of the nature of the disagreement.
1. The two sides disagree about how important the disagreement is (Luther insists it's a big deal).
2. There is an underlying disagreement about spirituality and the religious power of external things.
3. This disagreement goes all the way down to a disagreement about the person of Christ.

III. Many earnest attempts were made at reaching an agreement between Lutherans and Reformed on the Lord's Supper.

A. The Wittenberg theologians actually met with the Swiss at the Marburg Colloquy in 1529. They agreed on a number of points but not on the real presence of Christ's body.

B. The Strasbourg reformer Martin Bucer worked out a compromise formula with the Lutherans in 1536 called the Wittenberg Concord, but the agreement did not last because it was ambiguous on the issue of *manducatio indignorum*.

C. Calvin's compromise proposal brings the Reformed view even closer to Luther's but clearly recognizes the difference as well.
1. Calvin heartily endorses the language of the sacraments as a "means of grace."
2. He agrees with Luther in teaching that when the New Testament says "the flesh avails for nothing" it is not referring to Christ, whose body is "life-giving flesh."
3. Calvin affirms that believers do partake of Christ's body and blood in the supper, though in a spiritual rather than bodily way.
4. For Calvin, Christ's flesh remains in heaven, but the faith lifts us up to partake of him there.

5. However, given that faith is necessary for this participation in Christ's flesh, Calvin explicitly rejects the Lutheran *manducatio indignorum*, which he recognizes as the crucial dividing line.

IV. The deepest underlying disagreement is about Christ's humanity and its presence.

A. The question the Reformed pose to the Lutherans is: How can Christ's body be literally present in the bread when it has ascended to sit at God's right hand?

B. Luther's answer is: God's right hand is everywhere, and so is Christ's body.

1. This is not just the standard Christian doctrine of the omnipresence of God, because what is omnipresent here is Christ's humanity, his human body, not just his divinity.
2. The name for this distinctively Lutheran doctrine of the omnipresence of Christ's body is *ubiquity*.
3. It contrasts with the Augustinian doctrine espoused by Calvin, which is that Christ's divinity exists outside his body (the *extra Calvinisticum*), precisely because the divinity is omnipresent and the human body is not.

C. The Reformed (Calvinist) criticism of Luther's view is that it de-natures Christ's human body, making it no longer truly human.

D. The Lutheran reply is that that this is a divine human body and, therefore, has divine properties, such as omnipresence.

1. This Lutheran doctrine is called *communicatio idiomatum*, the sharing of properties—meaning especially the sharing of divine properties with Christ's human nature.
2. The Lutherans, in effect, emphasize the oneness of Christ's person, while the Calvinists emphasize the distinction between Christ's two natures (divine and human).

Essential Reading:

Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, chapter 7.

Luther, "The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ—Against the Fanatics," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 36.

Lecture Fifteen
Controversy Over Infant Baptism

Scope: The relation between the Lutheran and Radical wings of the Reformation is defined, above all, by their disagreement about the meaning and practice of baptism. Called by their opponents *Anabaptists* (that is, "re-baptizers") the radicals regarded infant baptism as invalid because infants could not believe and, therefore, baptized only adult believers—even if they had already been (supposedly) baptized as infants. The Anabaptist position forced Luther to explain how the practice of baptizing infants, which he defended, was compatible with his emphasis on faith alone. Behind the practical disagreement about baptism is a profound theological disagreement about Christian identity, where Luther is on the same side as Catholics, against most Protestants today. If, for instance, you asked Luther whether he was "born again," you would get a very Catholic answer: "Of course I am born again; I was baptized when I was a baby." This is the doctrine of baptismal regeneration.

Outline

I. The Radical Reformation differed from the Reformed and the Lutherans in rejecting infant baptism.

A. The Anabaptists are not to be confused with the Baptists. The later groups known as Baptists are not directly descended from the Anabaptist movement, though they often originated in similar fashion, breaking off from Reformed churches by rejecting infant baptism.

B. Anabaptist groups today include Mennonites, Amish, and Hutterites.

C. The Anabaptist movement proposed a radical new practice of Christian community separated from the world—including that part of the world that called itself "Christendom."

D. It took shape among laymen in Zurich in the early 1520s, who pushed Zwingli's critique of external ceremonies and institutions further than Zwingli wanted to go.

1. It originates not in a church building or a town hall but in private homes in Zurich, essentially as a Bible-study and prayer group, meeting without the guidance of a minister, that started drawing radical conclusions.
2. For Anabaptists, baptism signified a spiritual event of faith that had already taken place in the heart. Thus, they rejected infant baptism and practiced adult baptism.
3. They took the radical step of baptizing one another, even though they had officially been baptized as infants.
4. Within a few years, Anabaptism was outlawed by the Zurich town council and made a capital crime.
5. As the movement spread, it was persecuted nearly everywhere, and Anabaptists were frequently tortured and executed by drowning.

E. In rejecting infant baptism, the Anabaptists repudiated institutionalized Christendom in favor of a radical New Testament practice of a persecuted Christian community.

1. The name *Anabaptist* (literally, "re-baptizers") is given to them by their opponents.
2. The Anabaptists did not think that they were re-baptizing anyone but baptizing them for the first time, because their "baptism" as infants was not really valid.
3. The implications are radical: If infant baptism is invalid, then Christendom is unbaptized—Europe's Christian society and politics are not really Christian.
4. Christendom replied, as if mortally threatened, with cruel persecution.
5. The Anabaptist response was one of suffering witness, except for the aberration at Münster, which nearly destroyed the movement.

II. In response to what he heard about Anabaptism, Luther gave several quite different arguments in support of infant baptism.

A. Two daunting questions face Luther in his defense of infant baptism.

1. How can someone who believes that *Scripture alone* can lay down obligatory rules for the church insist on infant baptism, which is not clearly mandated in the Bible?

2. How can someone who believes that we are justified by *faith alone* baptize infants, who cannot yet believe?

B. Luther gives a series of quite different answers.

1. Every sort of person is to be baptized because of Christ's command to baptize.
2. Luther claims that the infant is, in some sense, a believer, like John the Baptist leaping in his mother's womb at the approach of Christ.
3. Luther offers no evidence for this claim other than the contention that baptism is commanded even for infants: We are to believe in infant faith because we believe in infant baptism, not the other way around.
4. More fundamentally, we should not ask whether someone has faith before baptism, because baptism is not based on our faith; rather, our faith is based on baptism.
5. Finally, Luther adds an argument from tradition: If infant baptism is not valid, then there have been no baptized Christians for more than a thousand years.

C. Luther is aware that these arguments put him much closer to the Roman church than most Protestants want to be.

1. Luther affirms Christendom and even the papacy as bearers of the gifts of Christ down to the present day, including valid baptism, Eucharist, ministry, and Scripture.
2. Against both Reformed and Anabaptist, Luther joins the Catholics in affirming baptismal regeneration, that is, that we are born again by the power of baptism.
3. Conversion experiences are, thus, not fundamental for Lutherans, because (as a particularly deep experience of repentance) they should always lead back to baptism, which is fundamental.
4. In this way, Luther affirms baptismal regeneration because he wants to put his faith in the Word of Christ (that is, "I baptize you in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit"), rather than putting faith in his own act of faith.
5. The Reformed agree that the power of baptism lies in the promise of God and faith, not in the sign of water, but they (like the Anabaptists) worry that Lutherans are restoring a magical sort of sacramental efficacy *ex opere operato*, simply by the rite being performed.

III. Luther's position on infant baptism signals an understanding of Christian identity that is subtly but profoundly different from that of most Protestants.

A. To affirm both infant baptism and baptismal regeneration, as Luther does, is to say that Christian identity is based on the word of God and not on the individual's choice to believe.

1. In his treatise "Concerning Rebaptism," Luther warns us not to depend on our faith!

2. This is not an abandonment of the *sola fide* doctrine but a distinctively Lutheran interpretation of it: Christian faith does not rely on itself but on God's Word.

3. To be baptized only after one comes to believe is to rely on one's own confession of faith and, thus, on oneself and one's own free will in a way that Luther thinks undermines faith and makes it into a good work.

4. He is right to this extent: The Anabaptist practice clearly makes the distinction between faith and works (together with the *sola fide* doctrine) far less important than it is for Luther.

5. The Lutheran approach implies a form of child-rearing in which children are taught that they are Christian and believers rather than being urged to choose to believe.

B. The Reformed, by contrast, practice infant baptism but do not believe in baptismal regeneration.

1. This means that baptism is a sign of a salvation given inwardly or of a conversion and faith that is yet to come in the child's future.

2. Infant baptism signifies that children of believers are born into the covenant community, even before they have a faith of their own.

3. The Reformed draw a parallel with the Old Testament sign of circumcision, which marks a child as a member of the covenant people before the child has any faith or choice of his own.

4. But the Reformed do not urge children to trust in their own baptism, and in this regard, they are more Protestant than Lutherans are.

5. Many Reformed churches require their young people to make a profession of their conversion to Christ before they become full members of the church (Anabaptists and Baptists baptize them at this point), whereas Lutherans teach their children that they are already believers and members of the church because they are baptized.

Essential Reading:

Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, chapter 8.

Luther, "Concerning Rebaptism," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 40, and Lull, chapter 18.

Supplemental Reading:

Althaus, *Martin Luther's Theology*, chapter 26.

"Anabaptist Confessions," in Leith, pp. 282–308.

Calvin, *Institutes*, Book IV, chapter 16.

Questions to Consider:

1. Do you find Luther's arguments in favor of infant baptism convincing and consistent with Luther's own doctrine of justification by faith alone?
2. Do you find the radicalism of the Anabaptist tradition, its separation from the institutions of authority in this world, attractive or disturbing?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Sixteen
Grace and Justification

Scope: The doctrine of justification (about how one becomes righteous before God) is the most characteristic legacy of the Reformation. Luther's doctrine on this point can be contrasted with both the Catholic doctrine of sanctifying grace and the Reformed emphasis on forensic justification. Against the Catholics, Luther does not see righteousness before God as a virtue, a quality or habit of our souls. But against the Reformed and most other Protestants, he does not see it as merely the imputation of Christ's righteousness or merits to our account. Rather, for Luther, Christ himself, received in faith, is the righteousness that indwells, forms, and changes the hearts of those who believe in him. Luther's fullest statement on this point can be found in his large commentary on Paul's letter to the Galatians (1535), which is the gold standard for understanding the mature Luther's doctrine of justification.

Outline

I. Catholicism combines an Augustinian doctrine of grace with an Aristotelian theory of virtue.

A. In Catholic doctrine, grace is both a divine gift (Augustine) and a part of our very souls (Aristotle).

1. Aristotle taught that our souls are formed by habits, skills, and virtues.

2. Virtues are like skills in that they are normally formed by practice—by working at it**.**

3. Luther objects to this Aristotelian view, arguing that persons must be good before their works can be good, as a tree must be good before it can bear good fruit.

4. Because (as Augustine teaches) persons are corrupted at heart by original sin, only grace can make a person righteous before God and, thus, make good works possible.

B. The Catholic doctrine of justification teaches that grace is necessary because the virtues that make us righteous in God's sight (faith, hope, and love) are not acquired by practice or work but are gifts of God given primarily through the sacraments.

1. Receiving the gift of sacramental grace justifies us by forming our souls in a way that makes us acceptable to God.
2. This grace is itself a form in our souls called *created grace*, to distinguish it from *uncreated grace*, which is God himself in action.

II. Protestant theologians reject the doctrine of created grace.

A. For Protestants, *grace* is simply a name for God's being gracious toward us, not a created form in us.

B. Hence, grace is not a habit, something we have or possess in our souls.

C. In particular, it is not the foundation of merit, as Catholics teach.

D. Also, it is not acquired by repetition or practice (not even sacramental practice), because that would make it a good work.

E. Hence, most Protestants reject the notion that our souls are inwardly formed by the grace of justification.

F. For most Protestants, justification makes no real change in us but merely means having one's sins forgiven.

G. God's grace (that is, the Holy Spirit working in our hearts) does work a real change in us, but this comes afterward and is called *sanctification*, not justification.

H. This means that the righteousness we receive when we are justified by faith alone is not a form, habit, or virtue in our souls but, rather, the righteousness of Christ imputed to us, a verdict of "innocent" pronounced over us when the merits of Christ are transferred, as it were, to our account.

I. The doctrine that the righteousness received by faith is not a real change in us but only a verdict and imputation of innocence is called the *forensic* doctrine of justification (from the Latin word *forum*, meaning "courtroom").

III. Luther's doctrine of justification, it can be argued, is not primarily forensic: The righteousness of God is not merely imputed to us but is the righteousness of Christ dwelling in us.

A. What forms our hearts, according to Luther, is Christ, received by hearing the Word.

1. Luther is willing to use the language of a "form" in the soul, so long as it is understood that this form is not a habit or virtue

or created grace but Christ himself, dwelling in the heart by faith.

2. There are two ways our souls can be formed, according to Aristotle: not only by practice but also by perception, as an eye is informed by what it sees.
3. Luther is willing to accept the second way of forming our inmost souls—not by practice (good works) but by perception (hearing the Gospel and believing it).
4. Through faith in the Gospel, Christ himself dwells in us and is our righteousness, and this re-forms our souls from the bottom up.
5. Luther's view is, thus, both a critique of the Catholic theology of grace and an attempt to achieve some of its goals by means of a different set of concepts.

B. A non-forensic reading of Luther's doctrine of justification runs contrary to the mainstream of Lutheran theology but has much in its favor.

1. Luther does speak of imputation, but it is not at the heart of his doctrine of justification.
2. For Luther, it can be argued, the righteousness of God is in us through faith in Christ (that's central), but sin also remains in us (because we are *simul justus et peccator*, righteous and sinner at the same time); therefore, for Christ's sake, God does not impute our sins to us.
3. Such a reading of Luther avoids the common Protestant trap of making Christ a means rather than an end, as if he were only a technique for acquiring the status of righteousness, rather than God in person.

IV. According to Luther's most extensive treatment of justification, the 1535 "Lectures on Galatians," Christ himself is the form in our hearts through faith.

A. For Luther, conscience is the awareness of my standing before God.

1. Conscience may be smug (unaware of God's judgment), anxious, terrified, or comforted.
2. A conscience that is awake is fundamentally anxious about pleasing God and terrified when it hears his Law and its threats.

3. Luther describes this terror as *Anfechtung*, an assault of the devil.
4. Yet the terror is ultimately due not to the devil but to God's Law (in its evangelical use) humbling us so as to drive us to the Gospel of Christ.
5. As the conscience that hears Law is terrified, the conscience that hears the Gospel is comforted, consoled, cheerful, and free.

B. A change in our conscience is a change at the deepest level of the self.

1. Luther identifies the conscience with what the German mystics called "the bottom of the soul," the deepest part of the self where God is most present.
2. For Luther, Christ is present in the bottom of the self but is not found by looking there, because he is found only when the conscience turns away from itself and clings to God's promise by faith.
3. The conscience comforted by the Gospel experiences the deepest palpable transformation of the self, from which stems all other changes: love, virtues, good works, and so on.
4. For Luther, the way we grow in Christian virtues is not by practicing good works but by repeatedly suffering *Anfechtung* and turning to believe the Gospel instead of the Law and the devil.
5. The result is a picture of the Christian life as intense and extremely volatile.
6. Luther insists that faith always looks away from the self, so as to be defined by God's Word, not by inner experience.

C. Luther insists that faith is passive in the sense of receptive—but it is also a great struggle.

1. The righteousness of faith is passive because it does not result from our actions or works.
2. Faith is also passive in the sense that it simply submits to the truth of God's Word rather than judging for itself.
3. The passivity of faith does not mean that faith is not a constant struggle to take hold of and cling to Christ in the face of *Anfechtung*.
4. But it is a struggle in helplessness and suffering, the deepest moment of which is the sigh of the Holy Spirit.

Lecture Seventeen
Luther and the Bible

Scope: Luther's focus on the Gospel was integral to his way of reading the Bible. He initiated the Protestant tradition of emphasizing the literal sense of Scripture, rather than the spiritual or allegorical senses. But for him, the literal sense of Scripture is centered on the Gospel and, hence, on Christ. To read the Bible literally, for Luther, is to find Christ in it. But, as early as Calvin, critics have wondered if Luther's biblical interpretation isn't centered too narrowly on the Law-Gospel contrast. This lecture takes Luther's reading of Paul's writings in the New Testament as a test case for this kind of criticism. Recently, many biblical scholars have argued that Luther is reading his own 16th-century concerns into Paul. It can be argued that Luther's interpretation is not the most historically accurate reading of Paul available, but it is a legitimate way to let Paul answer Luther's 16th-century questions.

Outline

I. Why did the Bible matter so much to Luther? In large part, because it gave him leverage against the pope.

A. In his bull *Unam Sanctam*, Pope Boniface VIII decreed that it was necessary for salvation that every Christian be subject to the Roman pontiff.

B. Luther claimed that only the Bible contained the Law and Gospel that Christians had to believe and obey.

C. Hence, the Bible frees the conscience from the pope and binds it to God's Word alone.

II. One of the key emphases of the Reformation is "Scripture alone" (*sola scriptura*).

A. For the 16th-century Reformers, the "Scripture alone" principle meant that nothing may be taught as necessary for salvation except what the Bible teaches.

1. Scripture alone is the source of Christian teaching because it alone is God's Word, providing a basis of certainty for the conscience.

2. By contrast, "popes and councils may err" becomes a recurrent theme of Luther's polemics.
3. Luther repeatedly contrasts the teaching of Scripture with "the doctrines of men," a contrast going back to Jesus's criticism of the Pharisees.
4. On the other hand, Luther never accepts the Puritan principle that only what is taught in Scripture is permitted.
5. What is not taught in Scripture is "free" (*adiaphora*, in later Protestant terms), neither to be required, nor forbidden.

B. The "Scripture alone" principle is not a doctrine of private interpretation, as if the lone individual without the help of the Christian community and its tradition of interpretation were sufficient to understand Scripture rightly.

1. For Luther, the tradition of the church has no authority independent of the Scriptures, but this does not mean it is merely a human invention that can be dispensed with.
2. When he insists on children learning the creed, for instance, he is insisting on their learning the most basic formula of the Christian tradition, which has an authority that is based on (not independent of) Scripture.
3. Likewise, Luther's insistence on a learned and ordained ministry is built on the assumption that if people are to understand Scripture, they need teachers educated in the tradition of Christian teaching.

C. "Scripture alone" does mean that the Bible can always function as a critical means of reforming the church, whose teachings and practices are never as authoritative as Scripture itself.

1. For the Reformers, the church is always being reformed by God's word (*semper reformanda*).
2. This frees the church from an unwholesome commitment to being infallible and, thus, incapable of confessing its mistakes.

III. Because of Scripture's function as source of doctrine, Luther focused on the literal sense of Scripture.

A. Allegorical or symbolic reading of Scripture is legitimate, for Luther, but cannot be the basis of doctrine.

1. Allegorical reading has its home in liturgical life, prayer, and edification.

2. If what you need is the certainty of God's Word for your conscience (for how you stand before God's judgment), then you need a doctrine that can be proved from the literal sense of Scripture.
3. Likewise, if you are a theologian who needs to refute other theologians' doctrines (a crucial theological task in the Reformation), you need a clear text of Scripture, not an allegory, to be the basis of your argument.

B. Protestant emphasis on the literal sense of Scripture was supported by the best biblical scholarship of the time, the new humanistic learning of the Renaissance, which opened up the history and language of the Bible in a profound new way.
1. In 1516, Erasmus published the first printed edition of the New Testament in the original Greek, with a new Latin translation and extensive notes.
2. Luther immediately used it for his university lectures in 1516.
3. New access to the original language and meaning of the text helped undermine traditional Catholic readings.

C. The alliance between Protestant theology and biblical scholarship changed in the 19th century, when historical-critical scholarship (especially in Germany) undermined many traditional Protestant ways of reading the Bible.
1. The 19th-century challenge highlighted the way in which Protestant theology is, in fact, dependent on the Christian tradition for its understanding of the Bible.
2. The equation of "literal" reading of the Bible with rigid narrowness is a result of the fundamentalist reaction to 19th-century scholarship, which should not be read back into Luther.

D. Luther insists on the clarity of Scripture, that is, that its literal sense is (usually) clear and not dependent on human interpretation.
1. For Luther, Scripture can be properly interpreted only in light of its own overarching aim, which is to teach us Christ.
2. In this sense, "Scripture interprets itself," which means it must be interpreted in light of its own self-declared, overarching aim.
3. Thus, the doctrine of the clarity of Scripture does not mean that Scripture never needs interpretation, but that its witness to Christ is too clear to be missed.

4. The point is not that every passage in Scripture is perfectly clear, but that if you miss the Scripture's witness to Christ, that's your fault.
5. On the other hand, because sin is a kind of spiritual blindness, no one will understand Scripture properly who is not instructed by the Holy Spirit.

IV. Recent biblical scholarship has questioned the traditional Augustinian reading of the apostle Paul on which much of Luther's theology is based.

A. In a famous essay, Krister Stendahl argues against reading Paul as if he were a hero of the "introspective conscience."
1. "The Law" in Paul means the Jewish Law, not God's method of terrifying consciences.
2. Paul's doctrine of justification by faith is not about how we stand before God on judgment day but about the relation of Jews and Gentiles in the church of Christ.
3. Luther has, in effect, transformed a question about the Christian community into a question about the individual Christian conscience.

B. More recently, E. P. Sanders has sparked a revolution in Pauline studies by insisting on the question of Jew and Gentile as the proper context for interpreting Paul.
1. Paul's concern is with a Christian community in which Gentiles are coming to believe in a Jewish messiah.
2. Given that Christianity was originally a Jewish movement, the question was: Can Gentiles join the Christian community without first becoming Jews and observing the Jewish Law?
3. Paul answers yes, and justification by faith is part of his reasoning: Gentiles and Jews alike become righteous through faith in Christ, not by observing Jewish Law.
4. One of the strengths of Sanders's reading is that it shows that Paul's critique of the Law is not an attack on Jews but a disagreement among Jewish Christians about the status of Gentile Christians.
5. Likewise, the tendency to speak of "the Jews" as legalists is neither fair to Jews nor an accurate reading of Paul.
6. Although this anti-Jewish reading of Paul originated with Augustine rather than Luther, Luther is a particularly intense

and memorable practitioner of it, and it's nice to discover that he is wrong.

C. Luther used Paul to answer his own questions.

1. This is the sort of thing the Christian Church always does: turns to the ancient Scriptures to answer the questions of today.

2. In that light, it can be argued that Luther read Paul rightly.

3. For although the individual facing divine judgment is not the central concern of Scripture, it is part of the story.

4. And if that is the part of the biblical story you are particularly anxious about, then Paul's insistence on justification by faith in Christ is a teaching that you are right to take comfort in.

Essential Reading:

Luther, "Preface to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, and in Dillenberger.

———, "Preface to the New Testament," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 35, and in Dillenberger and Lull.

Supplemental Reading:

Althaus, *The Theology of Martin Luther*, chapter 9.

Sanders, *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*.

Stendahl, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," in *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*.

Wright, *What Saint Paul Really Said*.

Questions to Consider:

1. Is historical study necessarily an enemy of religious readings of the Bible?

2. Is the picture of Jews as legalists familiar to you—perhaps too familiar?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Lecture Eighteen
Luther and Erasmus

Scope: When Luther was still a little-known monk, Desiderius Erasmus was a famous humanist, a renowned scholar of ancient languages and literature, the Bible and the church fathers, as well as one of the most important Christian moralists of his day, a critic of clerical abuses and an advocate of a simple but inwardly rich Christian piety. Though sympathetic to Luther's criticisms of the Catholic church, he never joined the Reformation and was ultimately caught in a fierce controversy with Luther over the role of free will in salvation. From Luther's perspective, there was something about the Gospel that Erasmus just didn't get: that we are saved not by our own free will but solely by the grace of Christ. From Erasmus's perspective, there was something terrifying about Luther's doctrine, a denial of free will and an embrace of the inscrutable doctrine of predestination.

Outline

I. Before Luther burst on the scene, Erasmus of Rotterdam (1469–1546) was the most important voice for reform in the 16th-century church.

A. Erasmus was the leading representative of the humanism of the Northern Renaissance, which put classical scholarship at the service of Christian piety.

1. Renaissance humanism meant, above all, the recovery of classical languages and literature (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew).

2. This included a distaste for the very unclassical ("barbarous") Latin of medieval scholastic theologians.

3. Learning the history of Latin could lead to important conclusions about the church, such as the discovery that the *Donation of Constantine*, a document giving the pope control over the Western world, was a fake.

4. Learning Greek and Hebrew helped both humanists, such as Erasmus, and Reformers, such as Luther, get beyond traditional medieval interpretations to find the original meaning of the Bible.

5. Although Italian humanism was often pagan in inspiration, northern humanists typically put classical learning at the service of Christian piety.

B. Erasmus was a renowned critic of papal abuses and popular superstitions.

1. He wrote a satire of Pope Julius II ("the warrior pope") being refused entry into heaven.
2. His criticism of superstitious reverence for religious images was a major influence on Karlstadt and Zwingli.
3. He advocated an inward piety of love for eternal things, fed by study of Scripture and very much in tune with the best of the Augustinian paradigm (see Lecture Three).

C. Yet Erasmus did not join the Reformation.

1. Erasmus satirized individual popes, not the office of the papacy.
2. Luther took exactly the opposite approach, attacking not persons but doctrines and institutions.
3. Hence, in his preface to *Freedom of a Christian*, Luther presents himself as an advocate of Leo X as a person at a time when he had already insisted that the papacy as an institution is Antichrist.
4. Erasmus thought that papal abuses did harm but never shared Luther's conviction that the papacy itself is inherently the enemy of the Gospel.
5. The insistence on seeing the pope as Antichrist was essential to the very existence of Protestantism at its origin.

D. Deep personal and theological differences may explain why Erasmus could never join Luther in rejecting even a corrupt papacy.

1. Erasmus's piety is centered on reading Scripture rather than hearing the Gospel preached.
2. Erasmus the reader is on an Augustinian journey of self-transformation by the work of learning, study, and contemplation.
3. Luther the hearer does not believe in the work of self-transformation but in being transformed by the preaching of God's Word and its first terrifying him (Law), then comforting him (Gospel).

4. For Erasmus the reader, papal malfeasance is just one more example of worldly corruption to be overcome by growing holiness of life, whereas for Luther the hearer, it is the Antichrist trying to take the saving Gospel away from Christians.

II. Luther and Erasmus had a famous disagreement about free will.

A. Pressured to show his loyalty to the Catholic church by writing against Luther, Erasmus chose to write a book on free will (1524).

1. As the doctrine of justification by faith alone came to be the center of Luther's disagreement with Rome, it brought with it an intensified conviction of sin and human incapacity.
2. Only faith can save us, Luther argues, because even the best works of a good man are mortal sins.
3. This means we can't be saved by our own free will, even in cooperation with grace, but only by grace alone (*sola gratia*).
4. Luther sees less value in free will than any other major theologian of the tradition, and Erasmus picks up on this.

B. Erasmus adopts a moderate Augustinian position.

1. Augustine had always insisted on the compatibility of grace and free will: Grace restores rather than eliminates free will.
2. For Augustine, once free will is restored by grace, good works and even merit are possible.
3. In this sense, grace and free will cooperate, and our will makes a contribution to salvation.

C. Luther's reply is the treatise *On the Bondage of the Will* (1525).

1. Luther's emphatic denial of free will is narrowly circumscribed: It's about the powerlessness of our will to achieve our own salvation.
2. The bondage of our will is not coercion, but the fact that we freely and gladly sin and are unable to change that fact about ourselves.
3. Hence, for Luther, grace opposes free will, not in the sense of eliminating it, but in the sense of accomplishing what our will is not free to do: changing our will from sinful to righteous.

D. To understand Luther, it is important to see why he finds nothing at all attractive about the idea of free will.

1. For Luther, *free will* is essentially synonymous with "willfulness" or "self-will."

2. To be saved by our own free will would be to work for our salvation, trying to will ourselves to love God in order to be saved, which is selfish and, therefore, self-defeating.
3. For Luther, we are only truly free when we act willingly and gladly, which we can never do if we are trying to earn our salvation.
4. Hence, relying on free will is actually a terrible form of bondage.
5. It also leads to terrible uncertainty about whether I have really done my best or done enough to be saved.
6. For this reason, Luther insists that even if he could be saved by his own free will, he wouldn't want to be.

E. This means Luther "bites the bullet" and makes a robust affirmation of predestination: The question of who gets saved is up to God, not us.

1. For the individual believer, this is good news: We don't have to rely on the uncertain power of our own choices but can simply trust God's promise
2. But the fact that God chooses not to save many people, letting them go their way in unbelief to damnation, raises deep problems about the justice of God, which Luther insists are unsolvable; we must simply believe that God is not unjust.
3. The most frightening idea Luther brings up is the distinction between the revealed God of the Gospel and the hidden God (*Deus absconditus*) of predestination.

Essential Reading:

Luther, *On the Bondage of the Will*, Parts I and VI, in Rupp and Watson, *Luther and Erasmus*, pp. 105–144 and 292–334, and in *Luther's Works*, vol. 33, pp. 19–71 and 246–295; Part VI and a little of Part I are also available in Lull.

Supplemental Reading:

Eire, *War against the Idols*, chapter 2.

Erasmus, *The Essential Erasmus*.

———, *On the Freedom of the Will*, in Rupp and Watson, *Luther and Erasmus*.

Lecture Nineteen
Luther and Predestination

Scope: How is it that the lovely notion of grace seems to turn into the horrifying notion of predestination? Augustine explains that predestination is simply God's eternal foreknowledge of how he will distribute the unearned gifts of grace to some rather than others. What is so scary about this, for Luther, is not that it takes away free will but that it leaves us in the dark about who will receive grace. The deep concept here, as Calvin realized, is the doctrine of election, that is, of God's choice to be gracious to some undeserving sinners rather than others—for no reason we can possibly understand. What Augustine, Luther, and Calvin all got wrong, theologian Karl Barth has argued more recently, is that they made election into bad news, as if it meant some were chosen instead of others, when the biblical doctrine of election has some chosen for the sake of others—as should be obvious to us if we are looking at Christ as the Chosen One.

Outline

I. The doctrine of predestination grows out of the Augustinian doctrine of grace.

A. Augustine defines predestination as God's eternal knowledge of how he will distribute the gift of grace.

1. Grace is always (by definition) unearned; therefore, it is up to God to decide which unworthy sinners receive grace and which don't.

2. Augustine (followed by Luther and Calvin) insists that even a person's decision to receive grace is a gift of grace.

3. Because no one can be saved without grace, this means that it is God who ultimately decides who will be saved.

4. The really terrifying consequence of the doctrine of predestination thus concerns those whom God does not choose to save.

B. The most troubling consequence of the Augustinian doctrine of predestination is not the philosophical problem about determinism and free will but the theological doctrine of election.

1. Augustine (followed by Luther and Calvin) affirms the compatibility of divine determinism and free will: God controls all events, including human choices, without undermining human free will.
2. Although there are philosophical objections to this Augustinian compatibilism, Luther is not bothered by them and heartily affirms God's control over all our choices.
3. The deep theological problem, rather, concerns the doctrine of election, which is about how God chooses to save some rather than others.
4. God's distribution of grace is (the Augustinian tradition argues) unequal but not unjust: No one gets worse than he or she deserves (for all deserve damnation), but some get better than they deserve.
5. Again, by definition, no one deserves grace; therefore, no reason can be given why God saves some rather than others.
6. Hence, for Luther, the highest degree of faith is to believe that this inscrutable God is merciful, just, and loving.

C. The doctrine of election also poses a deep pastoral problem.

1. The Augustinian doctrine of predestination provokes the anxiety: How do I know if I am one of the elect, predestined for salvation?
2. Luther typically warns against preoccupation with predestination; it leads to anxiety and despair, because we cannot know what God's eternal choices are.
3. Luther insists that we must not pry into the eternal decree of the "hidden God" (*Deus absconditus*) by which he determines who will ultimately be saved.
4. We are to turn, instead, to the "revealed God," that is, to Christ.
5. Sometimes, Luther advises those who are anxious about this to be assured that because of their faith in Christ, God is gracious to them and has predestined them for salvation.
6. Calvin builds on this advice to frame his doctrine of eternal security: that the assurance of faith includes believers' certainty that they are among the elect.

II. The Augustinian doctrine of election grows out of a deep-seated anti-Jewish misreading of the writings of Paul.

A. The most important biblical passage supporting the Augustinian doctrine of election and predestination is from Paul's letter to the Romans, chapter 9, which includes the crucial text in which God says, "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated."

1. The standard Augustinian reading is that Jacob is an individual chosen by God for salvation, and Esau is an individual allowed to go his own way to damnation.

2. The point is that they were chosen before they were born, so their merits are equal.

3. Both (according to Augustine, followed by Luther and Calvin) merited nothing but damnation because of original sin.

4. Hence, Jacob gets undeserved salvation by grace, and Esau gets deserved damnation because of original sin, reinforced by his own free will.

B. This reading, it can be argued (following Karl Barth and others), is a misreading.

1. "Jacob have I loved, and Esau have I hated" is a quotation from the biblical book of Malachi (chapter 1), where it clearly refers not to the individuals Jacob and Esau but to the nations descended from them, Israel and Edom.

2. In its original context, the text means that Israel remains the chosen people, while Edom will be destroyed.

3. Yet in the Jewish Scriptures, Israel is chosen for the blessing of all nations, not for destruction (as can be seen especially in the beginning of Genesis, chapter 12).

4. Hence, the structure of the biblical doctrine of election is not that some are chosen to the exclusion of others, but that some are chosen for the blessing of others.

5. In the actual biblical story of the individuals Jacob and Esau, Jacob in the end offers a blessing to Esau.

6. Curse as well as blessing is present in the biblical doctrine of election, because those who curse the elect are cursed.

7. Nevertheless, the purpose of election is not to bless some and curse others but to choose some for the blessing of others.

C. Why does Paul talk about divine election?

1. The first Christians were all Jews, members of the chosen people.

2. Then, Gentiles who came to believe in Jesus were allowed to join the Christian Church without converting to become Jews.

3. Thus, through Christ, the Jewish messiah, the Jews were a blessing to the Gentiles.
4. But that leaves Paul with a problem: What about the Jews who do not believe in Christ?
5. The twist at the end of the story (which Paul hints at in Romans, chapter 11) is that the Gentiles are meant through their faith in Jesus to be a blessing to the Jews also.

D. The source of the Augustinian misreading of Paul on election, it could be argued, is the Christian desire to replace Israel as the chosen people.

1. For the Gentile church, even before Augustine, this means, in effect, that Christians are now Jacob and Jews are now Esau—no longer the chosen people.
2. A proper understanding of the biblical doctrine of election requires Gentiles to be glad that the Jews are and remain the chosen people, just as they are glad that the Jew Jesus is *the* Chosen One.

Essential Reading:

Rupp and Watson, *Luther and Erasmus*, pp. 138, 200–202 and 244, 300–332 (the same passages from Luther's *Bondage of the Will* are also found in *Luther's Works*, vol. 33).

Supplemental Reading:

Augustine, *Grace and Free Choice*, in *Answer to the Pelagians IV*.

Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 2, part 2, sections 32–33.

Newbigin, "The Logic of Election," in *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, chapter 7.

Soulen, *The God of Israel and Christian Theology*, chapters 5–8.

Questions to Consider:

1. How much of the Augustinian doctrines of grace and predestination do you find attractive?
2. Is it really possible for Christians to be glad that the Jews are the chosen people?

Lecture Twenty
Luther and Protestantism

Scope: Luther is more "Catholic" than most Protestants are, not only in his view of the sacraments but also in his doctrine of justification. Although he and Calvin, for instance, have an enormous amount in common, there are also key differences, such as Calvin's systematic teaching that Christian faith includes knowledge that one is predestined for salvation. The best way to see the differences here, I suggest, is to clarify the anxieties characteristic of each theology: While Catholics worry about whether their souls are in a state of mortal sin, Luther worries about whether God aims to condemn him (the worry he calls "temptation," or *Anfechtung*) and Calvinists worry about whether their faith is true faith. Each of these anxieties is bound up with distinctive practices of pastoral care and spirituality. When we speak of "Protestantism," we are often thinking of spiritual practices and anxieties stemming from Calvin rather than Luther.

Outline

I. Much of what is new and distinctive in Calvin's theology can be stated thus: Calvin builds a systematic theology on Luther's pastoral advice that individual believers can be certain they are predestined for salvation.

A. Previously, the Augustinian tradition had insisted that one could not know if one is predestined for salvation, because believers cannot know whether they will persevere in the faith.

1. Predestination is a hidden decree (Calvin) of a hidden God (Luther).

2. As Augustine points out, eternal salvation requires not only faith today but also perseverance in the faith until the end of one's life.

3. Augustine argues that no one knows whether they will receive the divine gift of perseverance, so no one can know whether they are predestined for salvation.

4. Thus, Augustine will say: Believers are not yet saved.

5. For the Catholic Augustinian tradition, the proper attitude toward one's own salvation is not certainty but hope.
6. Hence, the characteristic Augustinian formulation, adopted by Luther but not by Calvin: We are saved in hope (*in spe*) but not yet in reality (*in re*).

B. Calvin teaches a doctrine of "eternal security": that all true believers should have certainty that they are predestined for salvation.

1. Security in one's salvation, which for Augustine would mean complacency, is for Calvin, an essential part of the assurance and comfort of Christian faith.
2. For Calvin (in contrast to Augustine), all Christians will be saved in the end, because all who truly believe in Christ receive the divine gift of perseverance.
3. True Christian faith is, by definition, permanent faith: People who lose their faith never really had true faith to begin with.
4. Justification, which for the Augustinian tradition occurs many times in life (that is, whenever God forgives a penitent), therefore tends to be understood in Calvinism as a single, life-changing event of conversion to true faith.
5. Hence, a once-in-a-lifetime conversion becomes central to Protestantism in a way it never was in Catholicism—or in Luther.

C. The doctrine of eternal security creates a characteristically Calvinist anxiety: How do I know I have true faith?

1. The typical Dutch Calvinist answer to this question is: You know you have true faith by the evidence of a changed life.
2. The danger here is a new kind of reliance on good works for the assurance of salvation.
3. The typical English Calvinist (that is, Puritan) answer to this question is: You know you have true faith by experience.
4. The danger here is that the assurance of faith is built not on God's Word but on one's experience of believing it.
5. In both cases, the irony is that eternal security requires a certainty based not on God's Word but on what one knows about oneself.

II. Because Luther was never systematically consistent on the issue of eternal security, his theology is noticeably less "Protestant" than Calvin's.

A. There are reasons that Luther cannot be consistent or systematic in his view that we should be assured we are predestined for salvation.

1. On the one hand, there is the motive for the doctrine of eternal security: If faith includes believers' certainty that God is gracious to them, then it evidently must include certainty that God has not predestined them to fall from his grace.

2. On the other hand, there is the Reformation's insistence that Christian faith is not based on itself but on God's Word—so that Luther explicitly warns against putting our trust in our own faith.

3. These two emphases pull in different directions because there is no biblical promise that all believers will persevere in the faith—belief that one is predestined to persevere in the faith must rest on something other than faith in God's Word.

4. Both Calvin and Luther want to affirm both these emphases, but Calvinism eventually is more consistent about eternal security.

5. Luther, on the other hand, tends to agree on the whole with Augustine, that we do not know whether we will persevere and, thus, are saved in hope, not yet in reality.

B. Perhaps the deepest reason for Luther's divergence from later Protestants is his tendency to identify the divine promise on which Christian faith is based as a sacramental Word.

1. For Luther (as for Catholics), one is born again in baptism, and it is evident that not all who are baptized persevere in the faith—so not all who are born again are ultimately saved (in contrast to the Calvinists).

2. The Calvinist assurance of faith can be expressed as belief in the conditional promise "If you believe in Christ, you're saved."

3. Luther's certainty is based on a promise that is more like Christ saying, "This is my body, given for you."

4. The advantage of Luther's approach is that it doesn't require you to be certain that you believe but only to trust that God's promise to you is true.

5. The disadvantage is that one has no assurance that one will persevere in the faith and be saved in the end.
6. Hence, Luther often portrays Christian faith as a struggle to hang on to the Word of God in the midst of uncertainties, temptations, and assaults of the devil (which he calls, in German, *Anfechtung*).
7. Luther's portrayal of the Christian life is more volatile and dramatic than Calvin's: an alternation between time of Law, when believers look at themselves and see damnable sinners, and times of grace, when they look to the Gospel and are comforted.

C. To see what is at stake in Luther's divergence from Protestantism, one can contrast three types of anxiety, characteristic of three different theologies.

1. Luther struggles with the worry that God is truly gracious toward him (the preaching of the Gospel in Word and sacrament is supposed to comfort people who have such struggles—during their "time of Law"—and strengthen their faith).
2. Calvinists worry whether they have true faith (much of Calvinist pastoral care is concerned with this worry).
3. Catholics worry whether they are in a state of mortal sin, having lost the grace of new life given in baptism (the Catholic sacrament of penance is designed to deal with this).

III. Many later Protestants abandoned the predestinarian theology of Luther and Calvin but retained the distinctive theology of the assurance of faith, often based on the inner testimony of the Holy Spirit.

A. Later Protestants, even within the Reformed tradition, reject the Augustinian doctrine of predestination taught by Calvin.

1. The Arminians in Holland argued that because God promises salvation to all who believe, he wants to save everyone rather than choosing to save only some.
2. The people who are not saved are those who choose to resist God's grace—so that human free choice is ultimately what makes the difference between the saved and the damned.
3. By contrast, for Luther (and Calvin and Augustine), all of us choose to refuse salvation, until God gives some of us the gift

of faith—whether we are saved is ultimately up to God, not us.

4. Arminian theology affirms a much-weakened (non-Augustinian) doctrine of predestination, according to which God foresees who will believe and predestines them for salvation because of their faith.
5. The later Lutheran tradition moves in this same direction, abandoning Luther's blunt assertion that God damns people whom he chooses not to save.
6. The revivalist tradition in America tends to move in an Arminian direction (following John Wesley, who embraced Arminianism), insisting that it is up to us to choose to be saved.

B. The Protestant tradition developed a stronger emphasis on the inner working of the Spirit than Luther.

1. Luther and Calvin agree that the external Word of the Gospel does us no good without the Holy Spirit working inwardly, giving us the gift of faith by applying the Word to our hearts.
2. But for Calvin, you cannot even know that the promise of God is meant for you without the inner testimony of the Spirit, whereas for Luther, this is an explicit part of the promise itself as a sacramental word that says, "This is given for you" or "I baptize you…"
3. Hence, for the later Protestant tradition, the Holy Spirit is closely associated with the experience of faith and conversion.
4. The association of Spirit and experience becomes the matrix for Protestant liberalism, with its turn to experience as the basis of Christian faith.

Essential Reading:

Calvin, *Institutes*, Book III, chapter 2, paragraphs 6–12 (vol. 1, pp. 548–558), and Book III, chapters 21–24 (vol. 2, pp. 920–987).

Luther, *Letters of Spiritual Counsel*, pp. 115–117, 122, and 131–138.

Supplemental Reading:

Augustine, *Rebuke and Grace*, in *Answer to the Pelagians IV*.

Pelikan, *Reformation of Church and Dogma*, pp. 217–244.

Tappert, *The Book of Concord*, pp. 494–497 and 616–632.

Lecture Twenty-One
Luther and Politics

Scope: Along with other Reformation theologians, Luther insisted on making a sharp separation between the powers of the church and the state, which he described as "two kingdoms." In practice, this meant that the Reformation sided with the state in its ongoing struggle for power against the church. According to Luther's theology, the state was concerned with the external realm of law, servitude, and coercion, as opposed to the inner realm of freedom of conscience under the Gospel. Hence, political rebellion is never legitimate, but Christians can and ought to use the sword in obedience to legitimate political authority to restrain the evildoer and defend their homelands. The Reformation's appeal to the help, patronage, and protection of Protestant rulers led to ongoing religious warfare and, eventually, to the modern quest for an ideology of religious toleration, which was found in the secularization of politics and the privatization of religion.

Outline

I. Luther's political theory is often labeled the *two-kingdoms theology*.

A. The two kingdoms are the kingdom of God and the kingdom of the world.

1. The contrast between the two kingdoms ties into many dualities in Luther's thought: Gospel and Law, spiritual and temporal, soul and body, inner freedom and outward servitude.

2. In practice, the two kingdoms coincide with church and state, and two-kingdoms theology was not so much a political theory as a flexible rationale for taking advantage of or adjusting to the continually shifting alliances between Reformers and princes.

B. Luther's two-kingdoms theology is often rather misleadingly contrasted with Calvin's "transformative" approach to politics and culture.

1. The two-kingdoms idea derives from Augustine (who spoke of "two cities") and is common to Luther, Calvin, and many other theologians.
2. Both Luther and Calvin distinguish between the two kingdoms and insist they should be kept separate.
3. In practice, keeping the two separate meant taking sides against the Catholic church in the ongoing medieval power struggle between church and state (see Lecture Two).
4. Both Luther and Calvin aimed to reform and transform culture, as well as the church.

C. There is often a difference, however, in practical politics between Lutheran and Calvinist churches.
1. Lutheran churches tend to be state churches (in Scandinavia and much of Germany).
2. Calvinists established alliances with town councils, and their churches became typically dissident minority communities (in France and England) or theocracies (in Geneva under Calvin and in England under Cromwell).

II. In theory, Lutheran theology restricted church power and legitimized state power.

A. The key theological move was made by Luther already in *Freedom of a Christian* (1520), when he contrasted the inner freedom of conscience with the outward service of the Christian life.
1. The Gospel frees the conscience from all works and law, which means that the church may not impose any requirements as if they were necessary for salvation. This concept undermines claims of papal power.
2. The law governs outwardly, punishing evildoers.
3. Christians are free inwardly through faith, but outwardly, they are servants of all in love and, therefore, subject to the temporal authority of their rulers.

B. The political realm is, thus, the external arena of servitude, law, violence, and coercion.
1. The state is the realm of the "civil" or external use of the law to restrain criminals by coercion.
2. In this respect, the prince is essentially God's hangman, Luther says.

3. Even merely human laws serve God's purposes in this respect and, therefore, must be obeyed.
4. Christians should obey the civil law but not let it touch their conscience; given that they are not external evildoers, they need no law for themselves.
5. When treated unjustly, Christians should not fight back but suffer willingly, as Christ did.
6. This is why it is un-Christian for peasants to rebel, even against unjust lords (see Lecture Thirteen).
7. This does not make Luther a pacifist, however, because Christians ought to serve their neighbor by participating in the inherently violent work of the state.
8. The state is closely identified with "the sword," the instrument of war and punishment wielded to protect the innocent and restrain the evildoer.
9. Luther insists that the Christian's use of the sword under the command of the prince is not only allowed but required, because it is a work of love for one's neighbor.

C. The state, like the church, has no right to make laws restricting the inner freedom of the conscience.

1. Thus, Protestantism (unlike Catholicism for most of the modern period) is committed in principle to freedom of religion.
2. However, this commitment was often violated when it was felt necessary to do so, especially in the case of Anabaptists, who were frequently persecuted, tortured, and executed.
3. The Anabaptists are a particularly important test of the principle of religious freedom, because for them, faith is not primarily a matter of conscience but, rather, of communal discipleship.
4. The Anabaptists were persecuted precisely because their religion could not pay the price for modern toleration, which is that faith remains private and inner.

III. In practice, the Lutheran Reformation made the church dependent on the state.

A. A characteristic move of the Lutheran Reformation was Luther's address *To the Christian Nobility*, in which he appealed to the

German princes to correct the abuses of the Italian pope in Germany.

1. Luther's writings gave the German princes indispensable theological (or ideological) leverage in the ongoing medieval power struggle between state and church.
2. The appeal to the princes was well nigh inevitable, because they were the only ones with institutional leverage sufficient to counter the papacy.

B. Luther was dependent for his own safety and success on the Lutheran princes of Germany.

1. From the Edict of Worms (1521) to his death, Luther was under the imperial ban (in effect, a death sentence from Emperor Charles V) and survived only because Frederick and his successors kept finding reasons not to hand Luther over.
2. The Wittenberg program of church reform, beginning in 1521, was carried out with the backing of Frederick and other sympathetic princes.
3. Eventually, the Lutheran princes had to defend the Reformation with the sword, forming the League of Schmalcald to fight a war of defense against their own Catholic emperor.
4. After some hesitation, Luther backed this resistance against the emperor, arguing that individual Christians should willingly suffer unjust persecution and martyrdom for their faith, but the prince is different: His job is to protect his subjects from unjust impositions from abroad, religious or political.

C. The Lutheran Reformation endured because Charles V, the Catholic emperor, could not succeed in the long run in wiping it out.

1. In 1547, the year after Luther's death, Charles defeated the Lutheran princes in the Schmalkaldic war, capturing both the town of Wittenberg and the elector of Saxony, its prince.
2. In 1548, Charles imposed the Augsburg Interim, reestablishing the Catholic church throughout Germany but allowing certain Protestant practices (such as married clergy) to continue until the Catholic church decided what to do about them.

3. In 1555, however, Charles gave up the attempt to impose Catholicism and accepted the Peace of Augsburg, which ratified the status quo, dividing Germany along religious lines and ultimately giving up on the idea of a unified Christendom.
4. The status quo is expressed in the principle *cujus regio, ejus religio* ("his region, his religion"), which means that each prince may determine the religion of his own territory or region but must tolerate the other religion (Lutheran or Catholic).
5. The same principle was reaffirmed and expanded to grant not just toleration but equal rights to minority religions (now including the Reformed but not Anabaptists) in the Peace of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648.

D. The fundamental political effect of the Reformation was to inaugurate modern secularism with its ongoing search for a rationale for religious tolerance.
1. State-sponsored religious warfare (common in the 17th century) was averted by treating the political sphere as fundamentally non-religious.
2. The legitimation of political sovereignty accordingly became increasingly secular in the 18th century.
3. As the political sphere was secularized, religious life was privatized, increasingly restricted to the confines of the individual conscience.
4. Thus, political secularization and religious privatization, though largely unintended by Luther and other Reformers, are two of the chief legacies of the Reformation for the modern world.

Essential Reading:

Luther, "On Temporal Authority: To What Extent It Should Be Obeyed," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 45; Lull, chapter 29; or Dillenberger, pp. 363–402.

Supplemental Reading:

Calvin, *Institutes*, Book III, chapter 19, paragraph 15 (vol. 1, pp. 847–848) and Book IV, chapter 20 (vol. 2, pp. 1485–1521).

Lindberg, *The European Reformations*, chapters 9–13.

Lecture Twenty-Two
Luther and His Enemies

Scope: Luther's abusive language toward his theological opponents is notorious, graphic, and unforgettable. He believed and repeatedly said that the devil was using them to undermine faith in Christ. Did he simply become bitter in his old age, or should we take him at his word that the fierceness of his attacks was not about personalities but about the Gospel? This lecture suggests that only the latter interpretation can make sense of the theological seriousness of Luther's theological polemics. The most important long-term result of these polemics, it can be argued, is a distinctively Protestant concern for certainty in the interpretation of Scripture, which in the end, produced a meaning for the principle of "Scripture alone" that was not what Luther intended.

Outline

I. The level of verbal abuse Luther directs at his opponents is shocking and needs to be explained.

A. Especially in his later writings, his use of metaphors of filth (usually excremental rather than sexual) must be heard to be believed.

B. Explanations that focus on his ill health or on the abusive language of his opponents do not go far enough toward understanding why Luther himself thought he was doing this.

C. The task of this lecture is to understand how Luther's harsh attitude toward his enemies is related to his view of the Gospel.

D. The recurring distinction to which Luther appeals is that love compromises in everything, but faith compromises in nothing.

1. In one sense, Luther's polemics are nothing personal: He avoids attacking the moral life of his opponents (a matter of love) and focuses on their doctrines (a matter of faith).

2. But in attacking their doctrines, he attacks his opponents' consciences and claims that they are speaking for the devil.

3. Picking up on their claim to be inspired by the Holy Spirit, he calls them "fanatics" (*Schwärmer*), a word for raving visionaries possessed by a spirit.
4. For Luther, defending the Gospel against its enemies is always, fundamentally, a battle with the spirit that speaks through them, which is the devil.

II. Luther's battles with the devil should be understood as his idiosyncratic extension of a common medieval theme.

A. In one respect, Luther's frequent talk of his battles with the devil is not unusual.
1. Everyone in the Middle Ages understood that when your conscience is facing the judgment of God (for example, on your deathbed), you are apt to be tempted by devilish thoughts of despair.
2. When Luther speaks of his temptations as assaults (*Anfechtungen*) by the devil, he can assume his readers understand what he means without needing an explanation.

B. But Luther also has a distinctive, startlingly casual way of talking about the frequent theological arguments he has with the devil.
1. Luther once casually remarked that the devil had been arguing with him about Zwingli early that morning.
2. Luther said that the devil gave him better theological arguments than Luther's opponents did.
3. In one striking text, Luther tells us that the devil woke him up at night with a critique of the book he was writing, then proceeds to give us a five-page argument by the devil that actually changes Luther's mind!

C. The most likely explanation for Luther's distinctive talk about the devil's theological arguments lies with his insomnia.
1. Luther was an insomniac who frequently had *Anfechtungen* in the middle of the night.
2. It is probable that, like many other insomniacs, he often woke up at night with critical arguments running in his head.
3. If that happened to Luther, it would be neither crazy nor surprising if he identified the theological arguments that woke him up with the voice of the devil.

III. Luther's harsh language is a deliberate rhetorical strategy for defending the Gospel.

A. Luther attacks the consciences of his theological opponents because they are uncertain.

1. In one sense, Luther addresses all his writings to people's consciences, for example, advising soldiers when they may fight in good conscience as Christians.

2. Luther addresses his theological opponents' consciences by claiming that they argue in bad conscience.

3. A bad conscience here means an uncertain conscience, one that claims to base its faith on God's Word but is, in fact, uncertain of its interpretation of the text.

4. Luther thinks that because Christian faith must be based on the certainty that God will be true to his Word, an uncertain faith is the mark of a lying and deceitful conscience.

B. For Luther, therefore, enemies of the Gospel are never simply making an honest mistake.

1. Luther will say his opponents are lying against their own consciences; they *know* that their interpretation is not certain and, therefore, is an inadequate basis for faith, but they don't admit it.

2. Their defense of their theological positions is like a kind of back-talk against God's Word, justifying themselves against God and judging God's Word by their own reason, rather than submitting to it in faith.

3. This is similar to biblical attitudes toward false prophets and Pharisees, as well as ancient Christian attitudes toward heretics, who are regarded not as innocently mistaken but as liars, culpable in their error.

4. Hence, Luther has no desire to reach agreement or compromise with his theological enemies.

C. Luther's abusive language is deliberately intended to prevent compromise with the enemies of the Gospel.

1. He is convinced that such theologians as Zwingli need to do more than modify their positions; they must change sides, repent, and give up their diabolical opinions.

2. Luther writes against his theological enemies not to persuade them but to warn his followers against being taken in by their devilish lies.

3. He gets especially angry at opponents who try to convince him (or his followers) that their opinions are really just natural extensions of his own.
4. Luther's persistent harsh language, in fact, succeeded in its aim, making it inconceivable, for instance, that Lutherans would ever consider compromising with Zwingli's view of the sacrament of Christ's body.
5. Luther's success in this regard left a legacy of hard feelings and contentiousness, which his friend Melanchthon described as *rabies theologorum*, "the rabid fury of the theologians."

IV. The vehemence of Luther's polemics illustrates the destructiveness of the need for certainty, which was to have severe consequences for Protestantism in the long run.

A. The desire for certainty is not simply the desire for truth.
1. Believing one's beliefs are true is not destructive; it is simply the nature of belief (to believe X is to believe that X is true).
2. The desire for truth is different from the desire to be right, because those who sincerely desire truth are glad to discover that they're wrong.
3. The desire for certainty is a particularly destructive form of the desire to be right, because it means being secure in your own rightness and defending it by treating those with whom you disagree as if they were not merely wrong but stupid, irrational, or dishonest.

B. The kind of certainty Luther desires requires a clear text of Scripture or "proof text."
1. Protestant doctrine requires both that one be certain that God's Word is true and that one has the right interpretation of the text.
2. Because human interpretation is fallible, the doctrine of the clarity of Scripture (as the necessary foundation of Protestant doctrine) came to mean that the clear texts of Scripture were not really being interpreted at all.
3. Clarity of Scripture, which was originally a doctrine about interpretation, became in effect, a denial of the act of interpretation.

C. This puts severe strains on biblical exegesis, making it difficult for Protestants to admit that their interpretive judgments are dependent on the Christian tradition.

1. Clarity is a form of obviousness, and obviousness is relative to expertise and training in a tradition.

2. Just as some things are obvious to an expert but not to a novice, some interpretations are obvious to those educated in a particular tradition.

3. The most powerful Protestant traditions of interpretation (such as Calvinism) succeed in making their interpretation obvious to their members and, thus, often do not see themselves as traditions of interpretation at all.

4. Such traditions run into a crisis when powerful rival traditions of interpretation emerge (such as modern critical biblical scholarship) and make their interpretations seem no longer obvious.

5. A tradition that does not recognize it is a tradition has few resources to deal with such a crisis other than to retreat into some form of individualism, such as the theory of private interpretation, in which individuals think they are reading the Bible without benefit of guidance from the church.

6. Thus, in Protestant theology (as later in modern philosophy) the quest for certainty leads to a distinctively modern form of individualism, quite different from the original intent of the Reformers.

Essential Reading:

Luther, a dialog with the devil, excerpt from "The Private Mass and the Consecration of Priests," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 38, pp. 149–158.

———, on why his enemy is the devil, not Zwingli, in his introduction to "That These Words of Christ, 'This is My Body,' etc., Still Stand Firm against the Fanatics," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 37, pp. 13–34.

Supplemental Reading:

Edwards, *Luther and the False Brethren*, chapters 4–5 and conclusion.

———, *Luther's Last Battles*, chapter 7.

Lecture Twenty-Three
Luther and the Jews

Scope: The most vulnerable targets of Luther's polemics were the Jews. In 1523, he writes a lovely treatise titled "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew," in which he argues that Christians should cease persecuting the Jews and be content to preach the Gospel and argue about Scripture with them. But two decades later, in such treatises as "On the Jews and Their Lies" (1543), he insists that they are as devilish as his other enemies, a threat to Christian faith. He proposes that their synagogues be burned, their houses torn down, their books confiscated, and so on. Even those who love Luther's theology must admit that this is wickedness. The question is: How can it be separated from Luther's Gospel?

Outline

I. No assessment of Luther's legacy can neglect his hateful and violent polemics against the Jews.

A. Luther's writings against the Jews are distinctive.

1. They are not like modern racist anti-Semitism.

2. They are not like the genteel anti-Judaism of many 19th-century Protestant liberals, who regarded the Old Testament as a Jewish book, too primitive to be relevant to Christians.

3. Medieval Christian superstitions and libels are present in Luther's writings against the Jews but not central.

4. Yet Luther's recommendations (to burn synagogues, confiscate property, and expel the Jews) are more violent than those of any other major Christian theologian.

B. Luther's writings against the Jews must be seen as a particularly vicious example of his treatment of theological opponents as lying against their own consciences and speaking for the devil.

1. His most elaborate attack on the Jews ("On the Jews and Their Lies," 1543) is directed against what he insists on calling their "lies."

2. The lies he is primarily concerned with are their interpretations of Scripture.

3. They speak for the devil, he thinks, because they consciously contradict the clear Christian meaning of the Old Testament.
4. Far from thinking that the Old Testament irrelevant because it's Jewish, Luther's claim is that it is Christian and, therefore, Jewish interpretation of it is deceitful blasphemy.

II. A full understanding of Luther's motives for writing against the Jews must explain the contrast between the hatefulness of his treatises in the 1540s and the friendly approach he took 20 years earlier.

A. Luther's 1523 treatise "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew" argued against Christian persecution of the Jews.
1. He regarded persecution of the Jews as one of the bad ideas of the papist church.
2. He expresses the hope that, if treated kindly and presented with true scriptural teaching, many Jews will convert to Christianity.
3. He argues that because the original apostles were Jews who did good to Gentiles by preaching Christ and converting them, Gentiles should now do good to the Jews in the same way.
4. He concludes the treatise by presenting Scripture passages that can be used in discussions with Jews to show them that Jesus is the messiah.

B. By 1543, Luther had decided that (like the pope and Zwingli) the Jews spoke for the devil.
1. He began to see Jews not as neighbors to be loved but as theological enemies who threaten to undermine faith in the Gospel.
2. He had heard rumors of Jews converting Christians to Judaism.
3. He gave up hope for their conversion and recommended that Christians cease trying to preach or argue with them about Scripture.
4. He came to think of the Jews as a threat to the health of the Christian body politic, which the German princes should not tolerate.

C. He also was convinced that their "lies" (like the beliefs of the Anabaptists) were blasphemy and, therefore, could not be tolerated.

1. While affirming the inward freedom of conscience, Luther insisted that Jews should be allowed no outward freedom of speech in worship or teaching, because this is the capital crime of blasphemy.
2. To tolerate their "lies," he argued, is to acquiesce in them and, thereby, to share in the guilt of blasphemy.
3. His harsh proposals for dealing with the Jews are not intended as punishment but as purging the land of blasphemous "lies" that provoke the wrath of God.

III. The question that must concern anyone who finds Luther's theology attractive is: How does Luther get from the Gospel to the persecution of the Jews?

A. Luther's need for certainty meant that he had to think of the Jews as not just wrong but diabolical.
1. Luther insists not just that the Gospel is true or that God keeps his promises, but that his own Christian interpretation of Scripture is certain.
2. Hence, he declares that in disagreeing with him, the Jews are deliberately twisting the meaning of the text and consciously lying, in violation of their own consciences.
3. Ironically, Luther's slanders against the Jews are a good illustration of what it is like to lie against one's own conscience!

B. Given his own premises, what better conclusion could Luther have drawn?
1. The terrible decision that the Jews must be speaking for the devil means that Luther gives up the idea of arguing with them about the truth of Scripture.
2. A serious and mutually respectful argument means that both sides are at risk of being persuaded by the other.
3. If Luther wants Christians to convert Jews by their words, he cannot rule out the possibility that Jewish discourse might also convince and convert Christians—this is the inherent and rightful risk of mutually respectful dialogue about the truth.

C. What might be a more biblical understanding of the relation of Christians and Jews?
1. All the monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) are rooted in traditions in which specific communities of

interpretation are gathered around specific texts (Torah, Bible, Koran).

2. In each case, the later texts make claims about the true meaning of the earlier.
3. Hence, these three traditions cannot take the truth of their own religion seriously without engaging in ongoing interpretive argument with the other.
4. As long as both Christianity and Judaism exist, neither tradition can be utterly certain.
5. The need for certainty should be renounced, because it is ultimately the need for the other not to exist.
6. In the biblical story, Jacob and Esau fight over who is to possess the blessing, but they literally kiss and make up at the end.
7. Christians and Jews should keep on arguing about the truth of their scriptural interpretations, in peace and mutual respect, expecting that, in the end, they will together see the truth of God.

Essential Reading:

Luther, "On the Jews and Their Lies," in *Luther's Works,* vol. 47, pp. 254–292.

Supplemental Reading:

The Bible on Jacob and Esau: Genesis, chapters 25, 27–28, 32–33.

Edwards, *Luther's Last Battles*, chapter 6.

Luther, "That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew," in *Luther's Works*, vol. 45, esp. pp. 199–201 and 213–229.

Questions to Consider:

1. How do you feel about Luther now?
2. How should Christians feel about their history with the Jews?

Lecture Twenty-Four
Luther and Modernity

Scope: The modern era can be traced back to the split in Christendom that began with Luther's break from the pope. The modern secular intellectual tradition is, in many ways, a response to the fractured Christian intellectual tradition, not to mention the bloody religious wars that occurred in the wake of the Reformation. Thus, the Protestant tradition stands midway between the Catholic tradition going back into the Middle Ages and antiquity and the modern traditions of secularity and liberalism. It is attracted in both directions, but in the postmodern context, its future as a Christian tradition, it can be argued, lies more in its commonality with Catholicism than with liberalism. Luther's insistence on faith in God's word has much to contribute to a Christianity after modernity.

Outline

I. The Protestant Reformation stands at the beginning of the great cultural development called modernity.

A. The split in Christendom engendered by the Reformation put an end to the medieval world and created profoundly new cultural conditions in Western Europe.

1. The outbreak of devastating religious warfare in the 17th century led to a search for ideologies of tolerance and secularity in the 18th century.

2. Distinctive of modernity is the notion that public institutions ought to be secular, while religion should be a private activity.

3. The modern need for certainty in the midst of contending worldviews often sought satisfaction in philosophy, morality, and science rather than religion.

4. One could define Western modernity as secularized Christendom, a culture Christian in origin and in much of its intellectual resources, yet self-consciously determined to be neutral with respect to religion.

B. As religious traditions came to seem irrational and dangerous to those outside them, modern thought came to see itself as outside all traditions.

1. Modern intellectual traditions (such as Protestantism, political liberalism, the sciences) characteristically do not see themselves as traditions.

2. This opens the way for a distinctively modern individualism, as if it was up to each individual to decide on ultimate religious truths or the ground of certainty.

3. This individualism, postmodernists typically argue, is illusory—another modern tradition that does not recognize it is a tradition.

II. Protestant tradition has affinities with both the ancient tradition of Catholicism and the modern tradition of liberalism.

A. Liberalism in Protestant theology shares with political liberalism an emphasis on the individual.

1. Protestant liberalism makes a turn to experience as the basis of faith.

2. It thus comes to share many characteristics of what Luther called "fanaticism," a trust in the spirit within rather than the Word without.

3. Luther would have us treasure the external Word of God because it bears a truth that is not our own—the truth and authority of a person other than ourselves.

4. The fundamental question, Karl Barth argues—picking up Luther's point—is whether religion is ultimately about God or about us.

B. On the other hand, Protestantism can never escape its affinity with Catholicism.

1. Much of one's assessment of Luther's legacy depends on whether one thinks it was a good thing that Protestantism and Catholicism broke apart.

2. Ecumenically minded Protestantism involves the judgment that, whoever was originally at fault, the split between Catholic and Protestant is not a good thing for the Christian faith.

3. What Catholicism lost in the split was the explicit openness to self-criticism built into the Reformation notion of the church as "always getting reformed" (*semper reformanda*).
4. What Protestantism lost was explicit rootedness in an authoritative tradition of interpretation.
5. Healthy intellectual traditions are both authoritative and self-critical, but self-critical changes of mind must often be disguised in Catholicism, and appeals to the authority of tradition must often be disguised in Protestantism.
6. The greatest challenge to Protestant identity in our time is not Catholic hostility but the new Catholic resolve to regard Protestants as "separated brethren" rather than heretics.
7. For Protestants and Catholics to recognize each other as brothers and sisters is to acknowledge that the division between them is illegitimate.

III. Luther has a role to play in Christian thinking after modernity.

A. If we are in a postmodern era, then we live, in some sense, after modernity.

1. Postmodernity does not mean the death of modernity so much as the fact that even modernity can no longer take itself for granted, as if it were not itself a tradition with a specific past and specific authorities.
2. For some skeptical (or "left-wing") forms of postmodernism, this means there is no real authority or overarching truth to be had.
3. For other ("right-wing") forms of postmodernism, it means that all traditions are called upon to give a self-critical account of themselves, their rationality, and their claim to authority as part of an ongoing argument, rather than a certainty that is supposed to be obvious to all.

B. After modernity, Christianity, like other monotheist religions, is an attempt to persuade other traditions about how to hear God's Word.

1. The great religious traditions do not give us certainty but an ongoing argument—authority that must be continually subject to critical questioning and interpretation that grounds a form of life that ought to be attractive in its goodness even to other traditions.

2. The monotheistic religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam) can give up the claim to certainty but not the claim to truth: That is why they must keep arguing, critically and self-critically and with mutual respect.
3. The key arguments in the monotheist traditions are about interpretation of texts and are ultimately attempts to hear God's Word aright.
4. Although Luther was wrong about the need for certainty, he was right about how, for any monotheist religion, learning what the scriptural text teaches means learning what God has to say for himself.
5. The attempt to hear aright what God has to say is an attempt both to know God and to stand before him in integrity, and Luther's theology has much to say about how this works.

Essential Reading:

Newbigin, *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*, chapters 4–6.

Supplemental Reading:

Barth, "The Knowability of the Word of God," in *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, part 1, section 6.

Cary, "Believing the Word."

Questions to Consider:

1. Should religion really be about us or about God?
2. Should Catholics and Protestants ultimately try to become one church?

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Timeline

1076–1084	Conflict between Pope Gregory VII and Emperor Henry IV over lay investiture.
1213	King John of England, giving way to Pope Innocent III after excommunication and interdict, makes England a fief of the pope.
1215	The fourth Lateran council (a council of the Catholic church meeting at Rome) establishes the medieval sacramental system, including the obligation of private confession and the taking of communion at Easter.
1302	Boniface VIII publishes the bull *Unam Sanctam* declaring the superiority of the pope over all secular rulers.
1309–1377	The pope resides in the French city of Avignon rather than in Rome (the "Babylonian Captivity" of the papacy).
1378–1417	Great Schism (rival claimants to the office of pope reside in Avignon and Rome).
1414–1418	Council of Constance ends the Great Schism, appoints a new pope, condemns the writings of John Wyclif, and has John Hus burned at the stake as a heretic.
1453	Fall of Constantinople to the Turks, marking the end of the Byzantine Empire and the beginning of the Turkish threat to Western Europe.
1455	Johannes Gutenberg publishes the first printed Bible, inaugurating the era of the printing press.

1478 ..... The Pazzi Conspiracy, in which Lorenzo and Guiliano de Medici are attacked and the latter is killed while at Mass in the cathedral in Florence; the current pope (Sixtus IV) is in on the conspiracy, while both the victims are fathers of future popes (Leo X and Clement VII, respectively) who reigned during the Reformation.

1483 ..... Martin Luther is born in Eisleben, November 10, son of Hans and Margarethe ("Hanna") Luder.

1502 ..... Luther takes Bachelor's degree from the University of Erfurt.

1503–1513 ..... Reign of Pope Julius II (called the "warrior pope" and *il Terribile*, that is, "the Terrifying").

January 1505 ..... Luther takes Master's degree from the University of Erfurt.

July 1505 ..... Following a vow made in a thunderstorm, Luther enters an Augustinian monastery.

1506 ..... Pope Julius II lays the foundation for the new St. Peter's in the Vatican, to be funded in part by indulgences sold in Germany.

1507 ..... Luther says his first Mass.

1508 ..... Pope Julius II commissions Michelangelo to paint the ceiling of the Sistine chapel; Luther, at this point an unknown monk, visits Rome as the traveling companion of an older monk; he is disgusted by its worldliness and doubtful if pilgrimages to Rome do any spiritual good; Luther is appointed

professor at the University of Wittenberg.

1513–1521 ..... Reign of Pope Leo X.

1514 ..... Luther is appointed town preacher at Wittenberg.

1516 ..... Erasmus publishes the first printed critical edition of the New Testament; Luther immediately uses it in his classes.

October 31, 1517 ..... Luther posts the 95 Theses on the church door at Wittenberg.

1518 ..... Shortly after the imperial Diet at Augsburg, Luther submits to a formal interview with Cardinal Cajetan, who fails to obtain his recantation.

1520 ..... Luther publishes the most important theological treatises of his life: the *Treatise on Good Works* (May), the appeal *To the Christian Nobility* (August), *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* (October), and *The Freedom of a Christian* (November). The papal bull *Exsurge Domine* is published in June, condemning Luther's teachings and ordering his books to be burned; Luther responds in December by burning the bull, together with papal decretals and canon law.

1521 ..... Luther testifies before the emperor at the Diet of Worms in April but is condemned as a heretic in May; he spends the rest of the year hiding at the Wartburg while practical reformation of the church begins in Wittenberg, accompanied by much tumult.

1522–1523	Reign of Pope Hadrian VI.
1522	In March, Luther returns to Wittenberg and takes charge of the reformation there; in September, he publishes his German translation of the New Testament.
1523–1534	Reign of Pope Clement VII.
1524–1525	Great Peasant War in Germany.
1525	Luther marries Katherine von Bora, escapee from a convent.
1527	Emperor Charles V invades Italy and takes the pope prisoner for six months, while his troops (mostly Germans sympathetic to Luther) sack Rome.
1529	Luther and Zwingli fail to reach agreement on the Lord's Supper at the Marburg Colloquy; at the Diet of Speyer, Lutheran princes lodge a formal protestation against the enforcement of the Edict of Worms, which earns them the name "Protestants"; the Turkish advance into Europe is halted at the gates of Vienna, though "the Turk" remains a threat throughout Luther's lifetime.
1530	Diet of Augsburg, where the Lutheran princes submit the *Augsburg Confession* to the emperor, who does not accept it.
1531	Protestant princes form the Schmalkald League for defense against the likelihood of invasion by Catholic princes, including the emperor; death of Zwingli in the battle of Kappel in Switzerland.

1534–1549	Reign of Pope Paul III.
1534	Luther publishes a complete German Bible.
1534–1535	Revolutionary Anabaptists take over the Dutch city of Münster by force and try to create a utopia in expectation of the last days; they are besieged and slaughtered.
1535	Luther's lectures form the basis of his most extended treatment of the doctrine of justification in the "great" Galatians commentary (in contrast with the quite different "small" Galatians commentary of 1519).
1536	John Calvin begins work as a reformer in Geneva, shortly after publishing the first edition of his *Institutes*; Martin Bucer works out the Wittenberg Concord with Luther and Melanchthon, an ambiguous and temporary compromise on the Lord's Supper.
1545	Opening session of the Council of Trent, the key Roman Catholic response to the Reformation; the council will last, with interruptions, until 1563.
1546	Luther dies while visiting Eisleben, his town of birth, to mediate a dispute between local aristocrats.
1547	Protestant princes of Germany are defeated by Emperor Charles V in the Schmalkaldic war; Electoral Saxony and the town of Wittenberg are taken by Charles's troops, and Elector John Frederick, long Luther's protector, is captured and removed from office.

1548	Charles V imposes the Augsburg Interim on the subjugated Lutheran principalities of Germany; it restores the Catholic church but allows married clergy and other Protestant practices to continue until the Council of Trent settles disputed issues.
1555	The emperor gives up all attempts to wipe out Lutheranism under the Peace of Augsburg, which establishes the peaceful coexistence of Lutheran and Catholic territories in Germany under the principle that each territory's religion is determined by its prince (*cujus regio, ejus religio*).
1580	The Formula of Concord (or *Concordia*) is published as the basis of Lutheran unity, resolving key doctrinal disputes within the Lutheran churches of Germany.
1643	The Peace of Westphalia ends the Thirty Years' War in Germany and reinstitutes the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, now extended to include the Reformed churches (but not Anabaptists).

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Glossary

Many familiar terms are included in this glossary because their familiarity can be deceptive: In 16th-century discussions, they were used in a way that is subtly, but sometimes profoundly, different from today.

absolution: A formal announcement of the forgiveness of sins, as in the Catholic sacrament of penance, where absolution is pronounced using the words "I absolve you of your sins in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit."

adiaphora: Greek term for "indifferent"; used by later Protestants to designate church practices that Luther calls "free" (that is, not binding on the believer's conscience). They are indifferent because they make no intrinsic difference to a person's salvation. There is serious disagreement between Puritans and other Protestants, such as Luther, about which things are *adiaphora* (for example, images in church, which Puritans regarded as idolatrous, not *adiaphora*). (See Lecture Eleven.)

allegory: General term for a variety of symbolic or figurative strategies for reading the Bible widely practiced by patristic and medieval theologians; not a favored mode of biblical interpretation among Protestants.

Anabaptists: Greek for "re-baptizers"; radical or left wing of the Reformation, including Mennonites, Hutterites, and Amish. Thinking of themselves as a holy community separated from the world (including the part of the world that calls itself "Christendom") and marked by adult baptism and the use of the ban of excommunication as the central form of church discipline, they were severely persecuted. Even the term used to refer to them is one they would not accept, because their point is that infant baptism is not valid (that is, not real baptism at all), so that Catholics and Lutherans joining them are not really re-baptized, but, rather, truly baptized for the first time, when they receive baptism as adults. (See Lecture Fifteen.)

Anfechtung: German for "assault," the word Luther uses to translate the Latin *tentatio* ("temptation"). Luther's notion is that temptation is an assault on the soul by the devil, whose aim is to undermine faith in Christ. (See Lecture Twenty-Two.)

annates: A portion of the first year's income from a benefice, claimed by the pope as a kind of tax. (See Lecture Two.)

Antichrist: A biblical term for an apocalyptic figure or figures opposed to Christ (see, for example, 1 John 2:18). When Luther uses this term, he does not mean simply one historical individual (as in the apocalypticism popular with many contemporary American evangelical Protestants) but, rather, an institutional principle: For Luther, it is the papacy rather than any particular pope that is Antichrist —a judgment that was crucial to his decision to break with Rome. (See Lectures Eight and Nine.)

apocalyptic: Having to do with events at the end of time, especially as depicted in the Apocalypse of St. John (the last book of the Bible, also known as the Book of Revelation), including its vision of a violent supernatural transformation of society in the last days, which was often an inspiration for revolutionary violence in the 16th century. (See Lecture Thirteen.)

Arminianism: A theological reaction against Calvinism in Holland, characterized by an emphasis on God's desire to save all people (versus the Calvinist-Augustinian doctrine of election) and the capacity of human free will to resist grace, which makes human choices the ultimate determinant of who is saved. Much of the American evangelical heritage is Arminian because of the influence of John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, who embraced Arminian theology. (See Lecture Twenty.)

Augsburg: Southern German city, frequent site of imperial diets, including (1) in 1518, when Luther (near the beginning of the indulgence controversy) had a private hearing with Cardinal Cajetan, the papal legate; (2) in 1530, when the Lutheran princes presented the *Augsburg Confession* to the emperor; (3) in 1548, when the Augsburg Interim is imposed on the Lutheran princes; and (4) in 1555, when the Peace of Augsburg in effect ratified the status quo, according to which some areas of Germany remained Lutheran and others, Catholic.

Augsburg Confession: The founding document of the Lutheran church, composed by Philip Melanchthon and presented by the Lutheran princes to the emperor Charles V at the Diet of Augsburg in 1530.

Augsburg Interim: Temporary religious settlement imposed on the Lutheran princes in Germany, who were defeated by Emperor Charles V in 1548; the Catholic church was restored, but Protestant practices, such as married clergy, were to be tolerated for the time being until the Council of Trent decided disputed issues.

Augustinian: Stemming from the theology of Augustine (see Biographical Notes). Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist theologies are all Augustinian, and even their disagreements can be understood only in terms of the Augustinian framework they have in common. (See Lecture Three.)

Avignon: French city in which the pope resided from 1309 to 1377, a period known as the Babylonian Captivity of the papacy.

Babylonian Captivity: Referring literally to the exile of ancient Israel in Babylon described in the Bible, this phrase was also used symbolically to refer to the years when the pope resided not in Rome but in Avignon (1309–1377). Luther picked up the phrase and used it in the title of one of his most important treatises (*The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*) to describe the continuing spiritual captivity of the church under the papacy. (See Lecture Ten.)

baptism: A ceremonial washing accompanied by the words "I baptize you in the name of the Father, of the Son and of the Holy Spirit." For Luther, as for Catholicism, this is the sacrament of regeneration, or new life in Christ, which is properly given to infant children of believers (the practice of infant baptism). In contrast to many other forms of Protestantism, for Lutherans, the Christian life begins when one is born again in baptism.

benefice: An ecclesiastical office (such as a bishopric) to which is attached a source of income, such as land, tithes, or endowments. In essence, this is an ecclesiastical fief, the fundamental way of funding priests and bishops in feudal society. (See Lecture Two.)

bishop: Holder of the fundamental ecclesiastical office, exercising authority over priests and laity in a diocese, a designated geographical area in which is located the bishop's see, or seat, also called his bishopric.

bishopric: See **bishop**.

bottom of the soul: Translation of a term used by German mystics, *Grund der Seele*, which designates the deepest and most inward part of the self; Luther identifies this with the conscience, which is our sense of how we stand before God's judgment.

bull: An official document publishing the judgment of the pope on some issue; for example, in the bull *Exsurge Domine*, Pope Leo X condemned the teachings of Martin Luther. (From the Latin *bulla*, "bubble" or "boss," for the distinctive way the document is embossed and sealed.)

canon law: The written legislation of the Roman Catholic Church. By Luther's time, an elaborate code of canon law had been developed, which Luther and the Reformation rejected *in toto*.

Canossa: Castle in the mountains of Italy, outside of which Emperor Henry IV walked barefoot in the snow in penance for defying Pope Gregory VII in 1077; thus, the name *Canossa* marks one of the highpoints of papal power.

Catholic: From the Greek word for "universal," a description of the church used by both the Reformation and its Roman opponents. For clarity's sake, it is often helpful to use the term "Roman Catholic" for the latter.

clergy: In the medieval church, this includes bishops, priests, monks, and friars. All bishops are priests, and all priests are ordained through the sacrament of holy orders, which gives them a special inward spiritual character or mark on their souls, allowing them to perform the Mass and, thereby, change bread and wine into Christ's body and blood. Monks and friars are not all priests, but all have taken vows to live under the written rule of a particular religious order (such as Benedictine monks or Franciscan friars). For Luther, members of the clergy do not have a spiritual status different from the laity, because all believers are spiritually priests. Hence, members of the Lutheran clergy are not called priests or fathers but ministers of the word and pastors of the faithful. (*Minister* literally means "servant"; *pastor* literally means "shepherd.")

communicatio idiomatum: Latin for "sharing of properties," the doctrine that the properties of Christ's divine nature are shared with (or "communicated to") his human nature. Though widely affirmed by orthodox Christians, this doctrine is emphasized in a particularly realist way by Lutheran theology with its doctrine of ubiquity, according to which the divine omnipresence is a property really communicated to Christ's human body, so that the man Jesus is present everywhere.

compatibilism: The philosophical theory that free will and determinism are compatible. The Augustinian doctrine of predestination includes the compatibilist thesis that God can determine all the events and choices that take place in the world without taking away human free will. (See Lecture Nineteen.)

conciliarism: The view, held in some sectors of the late-medieval church, that the pope is subject to the authority of a general council of the church. Some theologians held conciliarist views out of practical necessity, because

a general council was the only way to end the Great Schism; others held these views out of theological principle as a democratic reform needed by the church. Luther's appeal to a general council, as a court of final appeal that could reverse the pope's judgment that he was a heretic, was based on conciliarist theology.

Concord: The Formula of Concord (1580), or *Concordia*, a document that settled doctrinal disputes within the Lutheran church and became the basis of orthodox Lutheran teaching thereafter (which is why a number of Lutheran colleges and seminaries are named Concordia).

confessor: In the sacrament of penance, this is the term for the priest to whom confession is made; the person making the confession is called the penitent.

confirmation: Literally, "strengthening," a Christian ceremony of laying hands on (usually) young adult believers to bless, receive, and strengthen them, normally after a period of instruction in the faith; in Roman Catholicism, this ceremony is regarded as a sacrament.

conscience: For Luther, this means the inner awareness of sin and the anxiety about displeasing God that such awareness provokes. A free conscience is one that is certain of pleasing God (by faith alone); a bound conscience is one that feels required to perform works that are supposed to please God but are not certain to do so; and a terrified conscience is conscious of sin and, therefore, of displeasing God.

Constance: Swiss city where, over the course of four years (1414–1418), an end was finally brought to the Great Schism; the council deposed two supposed popes, received the abdication of a third (Gregory XII, later regarded as the true pope of that time), and appointed a new pope (Martin V). The council also condemned the writings of reformers John Wyclif of England and John Hus of Bohemia and burned the latter as a heretic.

contrition: True hatred of one's own sins (sometimes called "inner penance"), a requirement in the Catholic sacrament of penance, which Luther comes to think should not be required, because it only causes uncertainty about whether one's soul is in a state of true contrition.

creed: A Christian confession of faith (from the Latin word *credo*, "I believe," with which it begins) recited every Sunday by Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, Lutherans, Anglicans, and many but not all Protestants. It includes belief in God as Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (the three articles

of the creed, as Luther calls them), and the second article includes a basic narrative of Christ's redemptive work: "He was crucified, died and was buried….on the third day he rose from the dead…" and so on. When Luther gives the content of the Gospel, he typically repeats a portion of this second article of the creed. (See Lecture One.)

cujus regio, ejus religio: Latin for "his region, his religion"; motto expressing the basis for the Peace of Augsburg (1555), under which each of the German princes established his own religion (Lutheran or Catholic) in his territory but tolerated the other. (See Lecture Twenty-One.)

curia: The papal bureaucracy, which stood at the center of the system of papal power in the Renaissance church.

Deus absconditus: Latin for "the hidden God," Luther's famous description of God deciding to predestine some people to be saved and others to be damned, in contrast to **"**the revealed God," who speaks in the Gospel and wants all to be saved. (See Lectures Eighteen and Nineteen.)

Diet: Official but irregularly scheduled parliament of the emperor and his princes held to decide on imperial legislation. During the Reformation, important diets were held at Augsburg (1518, 1530, 154,8 and 1555), Worms (1521), and Speyer (1526 and 1529), among other places.

disputation: Originally an academic exercise sponsored by a medieval university, this practice came to include formal public debate of theological issues, such as those sponsored by town councils in the Swiss Reformation. Both kinds of disputation became important focal points of the Reformation, as for example, the Heidelberg Disputation (1518) and the Leipzig Debate (1519), in which Luther was involved.

Donation of Constantine: A document purported to be by the emperor Constantine (280–337), donating all the lands of the West to the pope; exposed as a fraud by the humanist scholar Lorenzo Valla in 1440.

ecumenical: Having to do with the whole Church. In the past century, this means specifically the discussions among Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox churches about how the Church might again be one.

Edict of Worms: Judgment rendered against Luther at the conclusion of the Diet of Worms (1521), condemning him to death as a heretic and putting him under the imperial ban; support of Luther was thenceforth a criminal act.

elect: From the Latin verb for "to choose." Theologically, this term designates those chosen by God: In the Old Testment, Israel is the elect people of God; in the Augustinian theologies of Luther and Calvin, the elect are those predestined by God for salvation (see Lecture Nineteen); and in apocalyptic revolutionary theologies, such as Thomas Müntzer's or those of the Münster rebels, the elect are those who bring in the kingdom of God through sacred violence. (See Lecture Thirteen.)

elector: One of seven German princes (including three archbishops) who had a vote in the election of the Holy Roman Emperor. One of these was the elector of Saxony, Luther's prince, who ruled Electoral Saxony, which was different from Ducal Saxony, whose ruler (the duke of Saxony) was not an elector.

emperor: In these lectures, this term always refers to the ruler of the Holy Roman Empire, the distant successor of Charlemagne, who in the 16th century is the feudal lord over Germany. For most of Luther's career, this was Charles V of the house of Hapsburg.

Eucharist: Ancient term for the central Christian practice that Luther more often calls the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, Roman Catholics typically call the Mass, and the Reformed prefer to call the Lord's Supper.

evangelical: From the Greek term for Gospel (*evangelion*); in the 16th century, this was the most widely used term for "Protestant" (as it still is in Germany today), in contrast to the current situation in America and England, where "evangelical" designates only one wing of Protestantism.

excommunication: A judgment of the church excluding an unworthy Christian from sharing (taking communion) in the Eucharist; in the Middle Ages, a prerogative of the pope.

ex opera operato: Latin for "from the work worked," which means roughly, "just by doing it correctly"; a phrase used to describe the Roman Catholic view of the Mass as a sacrifice that is valid and effective simply by virtue of being properly performed, by a priest who is properly ordained. Sometimes, the same idea is phrased *opus operatum*. (See Lecture Ten.)

extra Calvinisticum: Latin for "the Calvinist 'outside,'" this is the Lutheran label for the Calvinist doctrine that Christ's divinity exists *outside* his human flesh. Contrast ***ubiquity***. (See Lecture Fourteen.)

extreme unction: The Roman Catholic sacrament of anointing those who are on the point of dying. (See Lecture Ten.)

faith: Luther always uses this word to mean belief in Christ, not just belief that God exists or "having faith" that things will work out in the end. Faith for Luther is not an answer to the question of whether God exists, but a solution to the problem of how I can be rightly related to him as a good and beloved child of God, rather than as a wicked and damned sinner. Also, it is useful to know that Luther made no distinction between faith and belief, because German and Latin, like most European languages, have only one word for both. Hence, whether a translation uses the word *belief* or *faith*, Luther is talking about the same thing.

fanatic: Translation of Luther's term for theological opponents, such as Müntzer, Karlstadt, and Zwingli, who claimed to base their theology on the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. The German term is *Schwärmer*, which means something like a raving visionary and suggests that the spirit who speaks through them is diabolical rather than holy.

fides historica: Latin for "historical faith"; Luther's term for believing that the Gospel story about Christ is true but not realizing that the things Christ did in this story are done for me. (See ***pro me***.)

forensic: Describes a doctrine of justification centered on God's declaring sinners righteous by imputing to them the merits of Christ. Such a doctrine is called *forensic*, because it understands justification not as a change taking place in sinners' hearts but as a verdict rendered in a divine courtroom (Latin *forum*, from which comes "forensic"). Lecture Sixteen argues that Luther's doctrine of justification, unlike the Reformed doctrine, is not fundamentally forensic.

Freedom of a Christian: Probably the most important treatise Luther ever wrote, this is the first classic elaboration of the Protestant doctrine of justification by faith alone, union with Christ by faith, and the relation of faith and works.

grace: A biblical term that, in Augustinian theologies such as Luther's, means an inner gift of God causing the soul to love God and neighbor freely and gladly and, thus, fulfill the Law of God. How grace is related to free will becomes an issue, because grace is by definition unmerited, given to undeserving sinners, and hence, not in the power of our free will to attain.

Great Schism: Period during which Europe was divided in loyalty to two, sometimes three, different men claiming to be the rightful pope (1378–1417). Ended by the Council of Constance.

guilt: When Luther uses this term he always means the fact rather than the feeling of guilt (for example, being actually guilty of a crime rather than feeling bad about it). The feeling that goes with guilt, for Luther, is terror. (See Lecture One.)

holy orders: The Roman Catholic sacrament of ordaining a priest. (See Lecture Ten.)

humanist: A Renaissance movement to recover a more historically accurate knowledge of ancient languages and literature, including not only the pagan classics (particularly appreciated in Italy) but also the Bible and the works of the church fathers (more emphasized in the Northern Renaissance by such scholars as Erasmus and Melanchthon).

impute: To count or reckon, a key concept in the forensic doctrine of justification, according to which we are counted or reckoned righteous when the merits of Christ are imputed to us.

indulgences: A formal promise by the church (in Luther's day, typically in a written document that could be purchased) that someone meeting certain criteria (such as participating in a crusade, going on a specified pilgrimage, purchasing a written indulgence) will receive a reduction in the amount of time spent suffering in purgatory. In Luther's day, this reduction could be applied to oneself or to others, like a kind of credit.

interdict: Papal prohibition of sacramental life throughout a whole country (no priest may perform Eucharist, baptism, Christian burial, and so on), a severe sanction used in the course of medieval politics between popes and kings.

justification: Literally, "becoming just." The doctrine about how sinners become just or righteous in God's sight (see also **forensic**). Disagreement between Catholics and Protestants about this doctrine was a central issue in the Reformation.

laity: Or "lay people" (from a Greek word meaning simply "the people"). The ordinary people of the church, as distinct from the clergy. Catholicism makes a much sharper distinction between clergy and laity than Protestantism.

law: When Luther contrasts this term with the Gospel, he means specifically the commandments of God in the Bible, which tell us how we ought to live but do not give us the power to do as they say (especially not to do so with a free, willing, and loving heart, as we are commanded). The Law of God, therefore, functions to accuse, terrify, and humble us, driving us to the Gospel to find the grace of Christ and forgiveness of sins. This is the evangelical use (literally, the "Gospel use") of the Law. There is also a civil use, when biblical commandments are used for the external order of society. Later Lutheran theology adds a "third use" of the Law as instruction in Christian life.

lay investiture: The practice of kings "investing" (literally, "clothing") a new bishop with ring and staff as a symbol of the bishop's receiving his spiritual power from the king; a practice strongly condemned by Pope Gregory VII and defended by his nemesis, Emperor Henry V.

love: Also called charity (in medieval theology, this terms means much more than just giving to the poor). In these lectures, *love* is a technical theological term referring to love for God and neighbor that stems from faith and obeys the command of Christ. All good works are works of love; thus, for Luther, love plays no role in our justification before God, which is by faith alone apart from works.

magisterial reformation: Reformation of the church established or supported by state power (the civil magistrate); the term covers the Lutheran, Reformed, and Anglican reformations, but not the Anabaptist or radical reformation.

Marburg Colloquy: Discussion in 1529 between Wittenberg reformers led by Luther and Swiss reformers led by Zwingli, which tried and failed to reach a common understanding of the Lord's Supper.

Mass: The Roman Catholic understanding and practice of the Eucharist, distinguished by the doctrines of transubstantiation and *ex opere operato*, whereby the Mass is a work of grace that can be applied, for instance, to the souls of the dead in purgatory.

merit: A person's status as deserving of reward. *Condign merit* (a notion developed from Augustine) means that works of love done by God's grace are promised the reward of eternal life. *Congruent merit* (a notion developed in the late Middle Ages) means that prayers and works of penance may, by gracious divine agreement, earn the gift of first grace.

Protestants reject both concepts, insisting that even after people receive grace, none of their works is meritorious. (See Lecture Four.)

mortal sin: The Roman Catholic doctrine that some sins are severe enough to result in the loss of the new life in Christ that is conferred by baptism. Anyone who dies in a state of mortal sin goes to hell. (See Lecture Three.)

Münster: Dutch city where, in 1534–1535, violent Anabaptists took over and tried to create a revolutionary utopia in expectation of the end of the world. (See Lecture Thirteen.)

opus operatum: See *ex opera operatum*.

original sin: In Augustinian theology, the guilt that every human being except Christ inherits from Adam, causing all humanity to be sinful from birth. (See Lecture Three.)

papist: Pejorative term for "papal"; a term the Reformers frequently used for the Roman Catholic church and its theology.

Peace of Augsburg: Treaty in 1555 between the emperor and the German princes, under which the emperor gave up for good trying to suppress the Lutheran Reformation, acknowledging the existence of Lutheran churches under the principle that each prince determines the religion of his own territory (*cujus regio, ejus religio*) but tolerates the other religion (Lutheran or Catholic). (See Lecture Twenty-One.)

Peace of Westphalia: Treaty in 1648 ending the Thirty Years' War in Germany, which reaffirmed the Peace of Augsburg and set up an extended version of the *cujus regio, ejus religio* principle, in which minority religions (now including the Reformed but not the Anabaptists) are not only tolerated but granted equal rights. (See Lecture Twenty-One.)

Pelagianism: The heresy in opposition to which Augustine developed his doctrine of grace; the Pelagians taught that our free will is sufficient to obey God, do good works, and be saved, without the inward help of God's grace assisting us. Protestants often (usually unfairly) accuse Catholics of being Pelagian at heart. (See Lecture Three.)

penance: The Catholic sacrament in which penitents confess their sins to a priest (that is, a confessor) to receive absolution. The inward state of penance (in the soul of the penitent) is called contrition. (See Lecture Seven.)

pluralism: In the Middle Ages, this meant the practice of clergy holding more than one benefice for the sake of acquiring wealth and power. Before becoming pope, for instance, Julius II was bishop of almost a dozen cities at the same time. (See Lecture Two.)

pope: The bishop of Rome, understood in Roman Catholic doctrine to be holder of the Apostolic See as successor of Peter (the first bishop of Rome), head of the church on earth in his role as Vicar of Christ, and focal point of the unity of the church.

predestination: The Augustinian doctrine, shared by Aquinas, Luther, and Calvin, that God chooses before the foundation of the world whom he shall save by the grace of Christ. (See Lectures Eighteen and Nineteen.)

prince: In the 16th century, this did not mean only the son of a king. It referred, for example, to any of the rulers of larger areas in Germany (for example, the duke of Prussia, the landgrave of Hesse, and the elector of Saxony), all of whom were princes to whom local lords and barons owed feudal allegiance and who, in turn, owed allegiance to the emperor.

pro me: Latin for "for me," a phrase Luther uses to mark an essential feature of true Christian faith—the belief that Christ not only died, but he died for me (contrast ***fides historica***). For Luther, the Christian faith is most aptly defined using the first-person pronoun, because faith is not only about Christ but relates the believer personally to Christ.

Protestants: The name given to the Reformation churches after Lutheran and Reformed princes submitted a formal protest against a decision to renew imperial suppression of the Reformation at the Diet of Speyer in 1529. (The term does not refer to protest against the church.)

purgatory: According to Roman Catholic doctrine, this is a place of purification for Christian souls who died in a state of grace but are not yet cleansed of the moral stain of their sins. Depicted in Dante, Catherine of Genoa, and modern Catholic teaching as a place of ardent love and hope, but in popular late-medieval writings, known to Luther as a place of hellish torture and agony.

Puritanism: Originally a 17th-century Protestant movement for biblically "pure" worship in opposition to the Church of England's "middle way," which made use of ceremonies and liturgy still redolent of Catholicism; this has given its name to the principle, already known and repudiated by

Luther, that only things taught in Scripture may be allowed in Christian worship.

rabies theologorum: Latin for "the rabid fury of the theologians"; found on a scrap of paper written by Philip Melanchthon just before his death, listing reasons why one should not be afraid to die: Death means escaping finally not only from sin and anxiety but also from the rabid fury of the theologians. (See Lecture Twenty-Two.)

Reformation: A 16th-century movement for church reform beginning with Luther in Germany and Zwingli in Switzerland, which eventually produced Lutheran, Reformed, and Anabaptist churches, separated from the Roman Catholic Church and from each other. In the 16th-century context, the term covers the same ground as *Protestant* and *evangelical*.

Reformed: This term refers to only part of the Reformation, not including the Lutherans and Anabaptists. Beginning in Switzerland, the Reformed tradition includes the legacy of Zwingli and Calvin; in America, Presbyterians and Congregationalists were originally Reformed churches. (See Lecture Fourteen.)

Reformers: In these lectures, this term refers specifically to theologians who promote the Reformation, for instance, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.

regeneration: From the Latin word for "born again," referring to John 3:3 ("unless you are born again, you cannot see the kingdom of God"). Lutherans, like Roman Catholics, Eastern Orthodox, and Anglicans, teach that people are born again when they are baptized (the doctrine of baptismal regeneration). Most Protestants (Reformed, Baptist, and Anabaptists) disagree.

righteousness: An old translation of the Latin word for justice (*justitia*) and its Greek equivalent (*dikaiosune*). It is important to realize that, for Luther, righteousness and justice were exactly the same thing—they were even the same word (*Gerechtigkeit* in German). It is only later that the English word, "righteousness," came to mean something more like self-righteousness, which for Luther, is the exact opposite of true righteousness. True righteousness in God's sight is a gift of God in Jesus Christ, received by faith alone. (See also **justification**.)

sacrament: An external sign that is a means by which the grace of God is given to Christian believers. For Catholics, there are seven different sacraments: baptism, Eucharist, penance, confirmation, matrimony, holy

orders (that is, ordination to the priesthood), and extreme unction (anointing of the dying). Luther came to regard only the first two as distinct sacraments (he regarded penance as a part of baptism).

sanctification: Literally, "becoming holy" (from the Latin *sanctus*, "holy," which is also the root of the word *saint*). For most Protestant theology, this designates the process of moral improvement (including good works) that follows justification, which is by faith alone, apart from works.

satisfaction: Part of the sacrament of penance in which the penitent is assigned to do certain works in order to satisfy ("make up for") sins that are already forgiven (as a thief might be expected to return what he stole even after his theft is forgiven). The punishments in purgatory are works of satisfaction.

Saxony: Name of two different but neighboring principalities in northern Germany, Ducal Saxony and Electoral Saxony, the one ruled for much of Luther's life by Duke George, an opponent of the Reformation, and the other by his cousin the Elector Frederick ("the Wise"), followed by Frederick's son John ("the Steadfast") and John's son John Frederick ("the Magnanimous"). Luther lived in Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony and was, thus, a Saxon.

scholastic: In these lectures, this is a technical designation for the dominant form of theology in the late Middle Ages, produced by teachers in the universities, such as Thomas Aquinas, in contrast to teachers in the monasteries, who were more prominent in the early Middle Ages, such as Bernard of Clairvaux. Scholastic theology was logical and argumentative, less devotional and meditative than that of the monastic teachers. Although Luther despised the scholastic theologians and routinely called them sophists, he admired some of the monastic writers (especially Bernard), as well as the older theological writers called *church fathers* (especially Augustine), who lived before the foundation of the medieval universities and were bishops rather than professors.

Schwärmer: See **fanatic**.

Scripture: The Bible. See ***sola scriptura***.

see: Latin for "seat," meaning the location to which a bishop's office and authority is attached. The Apostolic See is the bishopric of Rome, that is, the papacy.

semper reformanda: Latin for the principle that the church is "always being reformed."

simony: The sin of buying a benefice; widely practiced in the Middle Ages and forcefully resisted by reform-minded popes, such as Gregory VII. (See Lecture Two.)

simul justus et peccator: Sometimes labeled simply, "the *simul*," this phrase is Latin for "at the same time righteous and a sinner." This important and distinctive doctrine in Luther's theology insists that all believers remain sinners their whole lives, even while they are justified by faith and, therefore, righteous. This paradoxical Lutheran doctrine is one of the hardest for Catholics to make sense of. (See Lecture Five.)

sin: Disobedience to God's Law, particularly the command to love God and neighbor. See **mortal sin**, **original sin**.

sola fide: Latin for "by faith alone," catchword for Luther's doctrine of justification, according to which we become righteous simply by believing the Gospel, quite apart from any good works. (See Lecture Five.)

sola gratia: Latin for "by grace alone," catchword for Luther's doctrine that we are saved simply by God's grace, without any contribution of our own merit or even our free will. (See Lecture Eighteen.)

sola scriptura: Latin for "Scripture alone," catchword for Luther's doctrine that no teaching is binding on the conscience as necessary for salvation except what is taught (explicitly or by clear implication) in Scripture. (See Lecture Seventeen.)

supercessionism: The doctrine, almost universal among Christians of Luther's time but now increasingly rejected, that Christians have superceded the Jews, so that the latter are no longer God's people. (See Lecture Nineteen.)

temporal power: In medieval theology, the political power of princes and other rulers, in contrast to the spiritual power of clergy; it is called "temporal" because it is concerned not with eternal life but with our transitory mortal life on earth (the word *temporal* refers to time and contrasts with eternity). Often called the "temporal sword" and contrasted with the "spiritual sword" (as in ***Unam Sanctam***, below). (See Lecture Two.)

tithe: A mandatory church tax (enforced not just by the church but by the state) that supports priests, bishops, or pastors holding a benefice. (See Lecture Two.)

tradition: From the Latin term *traditio*, which means a "handing down" from generation to generation; in Christian theology, this means the lore of Christian practice, teaching, and biblical interpretation handed down in the church over the centuries. In keeping with the *sola scriptura* principle, Protestants deny that tradition has authority independent of Scripture, but in practice, they do not treat it as a merely human invention that can be dispensed with.

transubstantiation: Roman Catholic doctrine that at the Eucharist, the substance (reality) of bread and wine is changed into the substance (reality) of Christ's body and blood. (See Lecture Ten.)

ubiquity: From the Latin term for "everywhere," this is the label for the distinctively Lutheran doctrine that Christ's human body is present everywhere in the world (not to be confused with the standard Christian doctrine that God is omnipresent, which of course, Lutherans affirm, along with the rest of the Christian tradition). (See Lecture Fourteen. See also ***communicatio idiomatum*** and ***extra Calvinisticum***.)

Unam Sanctam: Title of a bull by Boniface VIII (1302) that declared in the most uncompromising terms the superiority of the pope over all powers on earth. (See Lecture Two.)

uncreated grace: God Himself (specifically the Holy Spirit) in his gracious action or union with a believer. "Uncreated" refers to what exists but has never been created and, hence, applies only to God, not to anything created by God, including the soul. Thus, uncreated grace contrasts with created grace, which is the Roman Catholic concept of grace as a quality or habit of the soul; Protestants rejected this concept. (See Lecture Sixteen.)

Wartburg: Site of a castle near the German city of Eisenach where Luther went into hiding for nearly a year (May 1521–March 1522) after the Diet of Worms, while the practical work of reformation got underway in Wittenberg. (See Lecture Eleven.)

Wittenberg: Northern German town, site of the university where Luther taught from 1511 to his death, center of the Lutheran Reformation.

Wittenberg Concord: Compromise agreement on the Lord's Supper worked out in 1536 between Martin Bucer (on behalf of the Reformed) and Lutheran theologians (including Luther himself), which did not last because of crucial ambiguity on the point of *manducatio indignorum*.

Worms: German city, site of the imperial diet at which Luther was tried before the emperor as a heretic and refused to recant; after this point, Luther was an outlaw under the Edict of Worms. (See Lecture Nine.)

Zwickau prophets: Luther's term for three men from Zwickau, a town not far from Wittenberg, who came to Wittenberg late in 1521 preaching an apocalyptic Gospel of the Spirit.

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Biographical Notes

Albert (or Albrecht) of Brandenburg (1490–1545): Margrave of Brandenburg, bishop of Halberstadt, and archbishop of Madgeburg, a member of the house of Hohenzollern. In the interest of family ambition, he also succeeded in acquiring the archbishopric of Mainz, which he financed by a sale of indulgences that precipitated Luther's 95 Theses.

Alexander VI (1431–1503): Pope from 1492–1503; one of the most famous Renaissance popes, father (among numerous other children by his various mistresses) of Lucrezia and Cesare Borgia.

Aquinas, Thomas (1225–1274): Dominican friar and theologian, central figure of medieval scholasticism (called, in Luther's day, the *via antiqua*, or "old way") and of later Roman Catholic theology.

Aristotle (384–322): Athenian philosopher, student of Plato, key inspiration for scholastic theologians, such as Aquinas.

Augustine (354–430): The most influential theologian of the Western world and the most important authority for medieval Christian teaching outside the Bible; his doctrine of grace was immensely influential for both Catholics and Protestants. Luther's theology, like Catholic and Calvinist theology, is a development out of Augustinian theology.

Barth, Karl (1886–1968): Swiss Reformed theologian who proposed a profound revision of the doctrine of predestination by re-focusing it on Christ.

Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153): Leading figure of 12th-century monasticism, whose writings were highly admired by both Luther and Calvin.

Boniface VIII (c. 1235–1303): Pope from 1294–1303; author of the bull *Unam Sanctam*, which declared in the most uncompromising terms the superiority of the pope over all Christian rulers.

Bora, Katherine von (1499–1552): Former nun, married to Martin Luther in 1525, mother of six children.

Bucer, Martin (1491–1551): Strasbourg reformer who tried to work out a compromise between Reformed and Lutheran theology on the Lord's Supper and temporarily succeeded with the Wittenberg Concord of 1536.

Cajetan, Thomas de Vio (1469–1534): Dominican friar, philosopher, and theologian (one of the most important commentators on Thomas Aquinas), also cardinal and papal legate to the Diet of Augsburg in 1518, where he conducted three days of interviews with Luther concerning indulgences and the authority of the pope.

Calvin, John (1509–1564): French theologian and reformer who lived most of his life in Geneva, where he led the reformation of the church and wrote the most influential text of Protestantism, his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*.

Carlstadt: See **Karlstadt**.

Charles V (1500–1558): Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (1519–1556), as well as king of Spain (1516–1556); member of the Hapsburg dynasty. He presided over the Diet of Worms (1521), where Luther was tried for heresy.

Clement VII (1479–1534): Pope from 1523–1534, while the Reformation gathered steam; born Guilio de Medici, nephew of Lorenzo the Magnificent and, thus, cousin of Pope Leo X. His father, Guiliano, was murdered in the Pazzi conspiracy in 1478, with the knowledge of Pope Sixtus IV.

Constantine (c. 280–337): Roman emperor from 306–337, converted to Christianity and, thereby, became the first Christian emperor.

Dante Alighieri (1265–1321): Italian poet and author of the *Divine Comedy*, an epic poem in which Dante journeys through hell, purgatory, and heaven; important source for a humane view of purgatory and for a medieval Catholic judgment on various popes, at least one of whom is found in each of the three places in the poem.

Erasmus, Desiderius (1469–1536): Leading northern humanist scholar; published the first printed Greek New Testament (1516) and editions of church fathers; an advocate of reform within Catholicism and a critic of clerical abuses. His early sympathy with Luther dissipated both because he did not want to break with the Roman Catholic church and because of his disagreement with Luther over the issue of free will and predestination.

Frederick III, "the Wise" (1463–1525): Elector of Saxony (1486–1525); Luther's prince, who in the early years of the Reformation protected him from trial and execution by a deliberate policy of delay and inaction.

Fuggers: The family owning the big banking house in northern Europe that financed most of the major ecclesiastical deals of the 16th century, such as Albert of Brandenburg's purchase of the archbisophric of Mainz.

Gregory VII (c. 1020–1085): Pope from 1073–1085; fought with Emperor Henry IV over lay investiture.

Henry IV (1050–1106); Holy Roman Emperor who fought with Pope Gregory VII over lay investiture.

Hus (or Huss), John (or Jan) (1374–1415): Bohemian (Czech) theologian and reformer; condemned by the Council of Constance and burned at the stake.

Innocent III (c.1160–1216): Pope from 1198–1216; perhaps the most powerful pope in history; excommunicated King John of England and put the whole country under interdict, with the result that John gave in, made England a fief of the pope, and promised payments of 1,000 marks a year, in return for which Innocent declared the Magna Carta null and void.

John (c. 1167–1216): King of England from 1199–1216; excommunicated by Pope Innocent III, he made England a papal fief, in return for which Innocent nullified the Magna Carta, which John had signed under duress from his barons.

John Frederick: Elector of Saxony (1532–1547), son of John the Steadfast.

John the Steadfast (1468–1532): Elector of Saxony (1525–1532), brother of Frederick the Wise.

Julius II (1443–1513): Pope from 1503–1513, member of the della Rovere family. Known as the "warrior pope" because of his success as a military commander in Italy and as *Il Terribile* ("the Terrifying") because his fierce temper was so intimidating. Commissioned the rebuilding of St. Peter's church in Rome, as well as Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine chapel (named after his uncle, Pope Sixtus IV).

Karlstadt (or Carlstadt), Andreas Bodenstein von (1486–1541): Colleague of Luther's at the University of Wittenberg; later, his theological opponent and precursor of the Radical Reformation.

Leo X (1475–1521): Pope from 1513–1521, born Giovanni de Medici, son of Lorenzo the Magnificent; a classic Renaissance pope, patron of the arts,

nepotist, and big spender, he was the pope who excommunicated Luther and officially condemned his teachings.

Luther (or Luder), Hans (? –1530): Martin Luther's father, son of a peasant who became, with hard work and thrift, a successful small businessman operating copper mines in Mansfeld and Eisleben.

Luther, Katherine. See **Bora, Katherine von**.

Luther (or Luder), Margaret (or Hanna) (? –1531): *Née* Lindemann, mother of Martin Luther and at least eight other children.

Luther, Martin (1483–1546): German theologian, ex-monk, founding figure of Protestantism, Professor of Bible at the University of Wittenberg.

Melanchthon, Philip (1497–1560): Theologian, humanist, and reformer; Professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg; Luther's colleague and best friend; and author of the *Augsburg Confession*. Less combative than Luther, he often acted as a mediator, peacemaker, and friend of other Reformers, such as Calvin, for which he later came under suspicion by some "pure" Lutherans.

Müntzer (or Münzer), Thomas (c. 1490–1525): Former student of Luther's who becomes pastor at Zwickau, claiming authority from the Spirit to preach the violent overthrow of the wicked in the end times; accordingly, he leads one wing of the peasant rebellion of 1525 until his defeat, capture, and execution.

Ockham (or Occam), William of (1285?–1349): Franciscan philosopher and theologian, leading figure in late-medieval scholasticism (the *via moderna*, or "modern way").

Paul, St. (?–64?): Early Christian missionary, author of many of the letters in the New Testament, and a central influence on Luther's theology.

Paul III (1468–1549): Pope from 1534–1549; called the Council of Trent.

Prierias, Sylvester (1456–1523): Dominican, "master of the sacred palace" (that is, chief theologian of the papal curia), who in 1518 writes the first official condemnation of Luther's 95 Theses, arguing on the basis of a radical doctrine of papal infallibility that horrifies Luther.

Simons, Menno (1496–1561): Anabaptist leader from Frisia, founding figure of the Mennonites, decisive for the Radical Reformation's turn to nonviolence.

Sixtus IV (1414–1484): Pope from 1471–1484 and uncle of Pope Julius II; a classic Renaissance pope, he built the Sistine (or Sixtine) Chapel. He was also heavily involved in Italian family politics, including the Pazzi conspiracy to kill Lorenzo and Guiliano de Medici in 1478.

Tetzel, Johann (c. 1465–1519): Dominican indulgence salesman, whose activities just across the border from Electoral Saxony prompted Luther to post the 95 Theses.

Wyclif (or Wycliffe), John (1320?–1384): English theologian whose writings, condemned by both king and pope, inspired later movements for church reform, especially that of John Hus.

Zwingli, Ulrich (or Huldreich) (1484–1531): Swiss reformer based in Zurich, took a "low" view of the Eucharist, which made him one of Luther's most important Protestant opponents.

PDF created by Rajesh Arya - Gujarat

Bibliography

Essential Reading:

Althaus, Paul. *The Theology of Martin Luther.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1966. Still the best one-volume summary of Luther's theology and still in print.

Bainton, Roland. *Here I Stand: A Life of Martin Luther.* New York: Penguin, 1995. Originally published in 1950 but still a favorite, this biography is immensely readable and a great introduction to Luther.

Lindberg, Carter. *The European Reformations.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. Well-written narrative history covering not only the Lutheran reformation but also the Reformed and Radical movements, the English reformation, and the Catholic Counter-reformation.

Lull, Timothy, ed. *Martin Luther's Basic Theological Writings*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989. The most extensive one-volume anthology of Luther's writings in English, using the same translations as the standard American edition of *Luther's Works*, below.

Luther, Martin. *The Large Catechism*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1981. A large catechism but a short book, this contains the best one-volume summary of Luther's theology by Luther himself.

———. *Letters of Spiritual Counsel.* Vancouver, BC: Regent College Publishing, 2003 (reprint edition). Perhaps the best introduction to Luther the man: letters of deep humanity written to people sick or dying, in doubt or anxiety, in grief or trouble or despair.

———. *Luther's Works.* Edited by J. Pelikan. St. Louis: Concordia Publishing (vols. 1–30) and Philadelphia: Fortress Press (vols. 31–55), 1955–1976. The standard American edition of Luther's writings (you can recognize it by its red covers), comprising 54 volumes plus an index volume. Though far from a complete collection of Luther's vast literary output, these well-done and helpfully annotated volumes do include most of what is of lasting importance. The set should be found in any good college or seminary library.

Supplementary Reading:

Anselm. *Proslogion*. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2001. One of the most characteristic pieces of medieval theology, beginning with a prayer that beautifully illustrates the Augustinian paradigm of spirituality.

Augustine. *Answer to the Pelagians IV: To the monks of Hadrumentum and Provence*, in *The Works of St. Augustine: A Translation for the 21st Century*, Part I, vol. 26. New York: New City Press, 1999. Contains treatises written late in Augustine's life dealing with the topics of grace and predestination, including *Grace and Free Choice* and *Rebuke and Grace*, which are the most illuminating of Augustine's writings on the topic of predestination and free will.

———. *Later Works.* Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1955. Contains a translation of Augustine's treatise *On the Spirit and the Letter*, which was extremely important for Luther's thinking on grace.

Bainton, Roland. *Women of the Reformation*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1974. Includes a chapter devoted to Katherine von Bora, Martin Luther's wife.

Barth, Karl. *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 1, part 1. Barth revives Luther's theology of the hearing of the word of God, in contrast to Protestant liberalism and all attempts to make Christian faith be fundamentally about human experience. Barth's Germanic style is heavy going for beginners, but once you get the hang of it, it can be a thrilling read.

———. *Church Dogmatics*, vol. 2, part 2. Contains Barth's epochal reworking of the Augustinian doctrine of predestination and election, re-centering it on the good news of Jesus Christ.

Bernard of Clairvaux. *Selected Works.* Mahwah NJ: Paulist Press, 1987. Contains the exquisite little treatise *On Loving God*, which was very important for Luther's early theology.

Bettenson, Henry, and Chris Maunder, eds. *Documents of the Christian Church*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999. A selection of important documents in the history and theology of the Christian Church from the beginning to the 20th century, including many of those used in Lecture Two.

Braaten, Carl E., and Robert W. Jenson, eds. *The Catholicity of the Reformation*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996. A group of mostly Lutheran theologians reflects on how catholic the Lutheran reformation was and is.

———. *Union with Christ: The New Finnish Interpretation of Luther.* Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1998. An introduction to the most important alternative to forensic interpretations of Luther's doctrine of justification. According to these Finnish scholars, justification for Luther does not mean simply that God imputes Christ's righteousness to us but that he gives us

Christ so that we are united with him in heart and made partakers in his divine attributes, such as righteousness.

Calvin, John. *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 2 vols. Edited by John T. McNeill. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1960. Calvin's major work, the most influential systematic theology text in the history of Protestantism, in a contemporary translation with excellent annotations and extensive indexes.

Cary, Phillip. "Believing the Word: A Proposal about Knowing Other Persons," in *Faith and Philosophy* 13/1 (Jan. 1996): 78–90. For anyone interested in my philosophical reasons for valuing Luther's notion that we come to know God by believing his word. The article argues that to know other persons, we have to believe their word. Luther is not explicitly mentioned, but his theology of the Word is an essential part of the background.

Catherine of Genoa, St. *Purgation and Purgatory, The Spiritual Dialogues.* Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 1979. The first of the two writings in this volume, usually known by the title *Treatise on Purgatory*, gives a humane and deeply spiritual account of souls in purgatory motivated by love for God to embrace their sufferings because of their desire to be purified and their joy in God's will. Written probably while Luther was a child but not published until after his death, Catherine's treatise, which received papal approval in 1683, is much closer to the current Catholic view than the kind of scare-tactics found in popular treatments of purgatory in the late Middle Ages, which portrayed souls suffering hellish tortures.

Cohen, Jeremy, ed. *Essential Papers on Judaism and Christianity in Conflict.* New York: NYU Press, 1991. Informative scholarly papers on key topics in the history of Christian anti-Judaism and Jewish responses to it from the ancient world to the Reformation, including a chapter devoted to Luther.

Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy*, *Vol. II: Purgatory*. Translated by Mark Musa. New York: Penguin, 1985. The second of Dante's great three-part Christian epic, in which he journeys through hell, purgatory, and heaven; particularly important for showing the medieval understanding of purgatory at its best, both poetically vivid and theologically deep.

Dillenberger, John, ed. *Martin Luther: Selections from His Writings.* Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1961. A handy one-volume selection of Luther's most important writings, though not as extensive as Lull's anthology.

Duffy, Eamon. *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997. Lavish illustrations and lively writing by an

excellent historian, who is appreciative of the institution but not uncritical of its occupants, make this the best popular history of the papacy.

———. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992. A fascinating, sympathetic account of what medieval Catholic piety meant for the laity and how this was undone by the Reformation. Though set in England rather than Germany, this book affords a richer sense than any other known to me of the fundamental religious practices at stake for ordinary people in this period.

Edwards, Mark U., Jr. *Luther and the False Brethren.* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1975. A study of Luther's attitude toward his Protestant theological opponents, this book goes far toward explaining Luther's attitude toward his other enemies, as well.

———. *Luther's Last Battles.* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983. More on Luther and his enemies, focusing particularly on the polemical writings of his later years.

Eire, Carlos. *War against the Idols: The Reformation of Worship from Erasmus to Calvin*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. Fine study of the origins and development of the iconoclastic Reformed strand of Protestantism, which contrasts with Luther's more catholic Reformation.

Erasmus, Desiderius. *The Essential Erasmus*. Edited by John P. Dolan. New York: New American Library, 1964. A fine selection of Erasmus's writings, including representative religious treatises and his satiric masterpiece, *The Praise of Folly*.

———. *On the Freedom of the Will.* See Rupp and Watson, below

Gerrish, Brian. *Grace and Reason.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962. A convincing argument that although Luther is a critic of reason, he does not simply reject it.

———. *The Old Protestantism and the New.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982. Contains some of the best essays in English comparing Luther and Calvin.

Greenblatt, Stephen. *Hamlet in Purgatory*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001. Presents a vivid history of how the idea of purgatory was imagined in the late Middle Ages and debated in the English Reformation, as well as how it led to the portrayal of the ghost in Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

Hillerbrand, Hans, J. *The Reformation: A Narrative History Related by Contemporary Observers and Participants.* Grand Rapids: Baker, 1978. A collection of 16th-century documents and pictures that helps you see what the Reformation was like for the participants.

Karlstadt, Andreas Bodenstein von. *The Essential Carlstadt.* Waterloo, Ont.: Herald Press, 1995. Treatises in opposition to Luther, in favor of more radical reformation and urging a mystic spirituality of "yieldedness," or *Gelassenheit*, as the key to becoming one with God.

Kelly, J. N. D. *The Oxford Dictionary of Popes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986. Brief digests of the life and doings of each individual pope and anti-pope. Precise scholarship, a valuable reference tool, and even a good read.

Kempe, Margery. *The Book of Margery Kempe: The Autobiography of the Mad Woman of God.* Translated by Tony D. Triggs. Ligouri, MO: Triumph Books, 1995. An extravagant example of the lay piety of the late Middle Ages in a readable modern translation.

King, Ross. *Michelangelo and the Pope's Ceiling*. New York: Walker & Co., 2003. A vivid account of the glories and the malfeasance of the Renaissance papacy and especially of the "warrior pope" Julius II, who in addition to leading armies in battle, commissioned Michelangelo to paint the Sistine chapel.

Leith, John. *Creeds of the Churches*. Rev. ed. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1973. Contains not only the ancient Christian creeds but also confessional documents of the Reformation, such as the *Augsburg Confession* and Luther's *Small Catechism.*

Lewis, C. S. *Studies in Words*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974. The chapter on "Conscience" is extremely helpful for understanding how the Reformers use the word.

Luther, Martin. *On the Bondage of the Will*. See Rupp and Watson, below.

———. *Sermons.* 8 vols., edited by J. N. Lenker. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Books, 1988 (reprint edition). Sermons for every Sunday of the church year and then some. The very first sermon in the set (for the first Sunday of Advent) is one of the finest expressions of Luther's faith.

Lutheran World Federation. *Joint Declaration on the Doctrine of Justification*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000. Official statement by both the Roman Catholic and the Lutheran churches on the surprising extent of their

agreement on the doctrine of justification after decades of careful ecumenical discussion.

McGrath, Alister. *Justitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification, the Beginnings to the Reformation.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. A scholarly history of the doctrine of justification leading up to Luther.

McKim, Donald, ed. *The Cambridge Companion to Martin Luther*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. A useful set of essays introducing key topics in Luther scholarship.

Newbigin, Lesslie. *The Gospel in a Pluralist Society*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1989. The best one-volume theological introduction to what I call "right-wing" postmodernism.

Ozment, Steven. *The Age of Reform, 1250–1550: An Intellectual and Religious History of Late Medieval and Reformation Europe*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980. An excellent general introduction to Luther's historical context, with expert sensitivity to the religious issues of the time.

———. *The Reformation in the Cities: The Appeal of Protestantism to Sixteenth-Century Germany and Switzerland.* New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1975. Fascinating study by a theologically informed social historian about why the Reformation message found such a ready reception in the cities of northern Europe.

Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300–1700).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984. This is the fourth volume of Pelikan's magisterial five-volume study of the history of Christian doctrine, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*. It contains an extremely rich and well-documented survey of the theological doctrines discussed in these lectures, not only in the Lutheran but also in the Reformed and Catholic traditions.

Rupp, Gordon. *The Righteousness of God*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1953. Still perhaps the best single study in English of Luther's teaching and experience of justification.

———, and Philip Watson. *Luther and Erasmus: Free Will and Salvation*. Philadelphia: Westminster, 1969. Contains both Erasmus's *On the Freedom of the Will* and Luther's reply, *On the Bondage of the Will*, the latter in the same translation as in *Luther's Works*, vol. 33 (see above).

Sanders, E. P. *Paul, the Law and the Jewish People*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1983. A fundamental challenge to the Augustinian, anti-Jewish reading of Paul on which Luther's theology rests.

Sasse, Herman. *This Is My Body: Luther's Contention for the Real Presence in the Sacrament*. Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1959. Still the standard treatment in English for this topic.

Sider, Ronald, ed. *Karlstadt's Battle with Luther*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1978. A collection of documents from the debate between Luther and Karlstadt.

Soulen, Kendall. *The God of Israel and Christian Theology*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1996. Argues against the doctrine of supercessionism (see Lecture Nineteen) and for Christian affirmation of the Jews as the chosen people on the grounds that Jews and Gentiles are to receive the blessing of God from one another.

Stendahl, Krister. *Paul among Jews and Gentiles*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1976. Contains the landmark essay, "The Apostle Paul and the Introspective Conscience of the West," which challenges the Augustinian reading of Paul that was fundamental for Luther's theology.

Tappert, Theodore G., ed. *The Book of Concord.* Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1959. The standard edition of Lutheran confessional documents in English, including the *Augsburg Confession* (1530) and the "Apology [that is, Defense] of the *Augsburg Confession*" (1531), Luther's *Large Catechism* and *Small Catechism* (1529), the Smalcald Articles (1537), and the Formula of Concord (1580). These are the defining documents of Lutheranism.

United States Catholic Conference. *Catechism of the Catholic Church*. Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1994. A translation of the official catechism authorized by the Vatican under Pope John Paul II, this is the first place to go to find out what the Roman Catholic church currently teaches about issues in dispute during the Reformation.

Williams, George Huntston. *The Radical Reformation*. 3rd ed. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth-Century Journal Publishers, 1992. A big, informative book, including not only a history of the Anabaptist movement but also a lucid account of the social unrest of 16th-century Europe.

Wright, N. T. *What Saint Paul Really Said*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997. Despite the regrettable title (as if any commentator could magically give us the meaning of an important writer with no further need for us to keep